United Nations S/PV.4804

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4804th meeting

Monday, 4 August 2003, 12.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wehbe	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Banoum
	Chile	Mr. Acuña
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Camara
	Mexico	Mrs. Arce de Jeannet
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Report of the Secretary-General on Côte d'Ivoire (S/2003/374 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-45001 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Report of the Secretary-General on Côte d'Ivoire (S/2003/374 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Côte d'Ivoire, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djangone-Bi (Côte d'Ivoire) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on Côte d'Ivoire, document S/2003/374 and Corr.1 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/783, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1498 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4805

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4805th meeting

Wednesday, 6 August 2003, 10.30 a.m.

New York

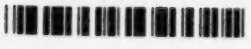
President:	Mr. Wehbe	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Antonio
	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mrs. Arce de Jeannet
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Letter dated 31 March 1998 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Papua New Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/287)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-45937 (E)



The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 31 March 1998 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Papua New Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1998/287)

The President (spoke in Arabic): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Fiji, Japan, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aisi (Papua New Guinea) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Dauth (Australia), Mr. Savua (Fiji), Mr. Motomura (Japan) and Mr. MacKay (New Zealand) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Noel Sinclair, Head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Sinclair to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Noel Sinclair, Head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Sinclair: Since the briefing given to the Council on 28 March 2003 by Mr. Danilo Türk, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, implementation of the Bougainville Peace Agreement has taken some dramatic steps forward. The most significant of these was the completion of stage II of weapons disposal, as required by the Agreement. Since there could be no numerical criterion to follow to determine that completion, the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) decided to base itself on the principle of effectiveness — how the people of Bougainville feel as a result of what has been achieved.

UNPOB therefore undertook an island-wide process of consultations, in the course of which it was able to ascertain that the people of the island were feeling a level of confidence and security that they had never felt at any time since the crisis ended. The people expressed a uniform desire for UNPOB to verify the end of stage II of weapons disposal, so that elections for their autonomous Government could be held as soon as possible. They were, of course, aware of the presence of uncollected weapons in the various communities, held by former combatants, by businessmen, by criminals, and also by supporters of Francis Ona, whose continuing separation from the peace process is a source of concern to them all. However, they did not consider that these factors should delay implementation of the Peace Agreement. They expressed much faith in what their autonomous Government could do to deal with the challenges posed by outstanding weapons and by Francis Ona.

Recognizing the very fundamental and serious nature of the responsibility for verification, and recognizing also the consequences of that act, UNPOB gave the most careful and detailed consideration to the views expressed by the people, weighing the risks involved in going ahead with the Agreement against those involved in not doing so. On the basis of such reflection and analysis, UNPOB formed the judgement — and so informed the Peace Process Consultative Committee — that stage II of weapons disposal had come to an end and that the weapons disposal plan had served its purpose.

On 30 July last, UNPOB made this verification and certification to the National Government. The Minister of Bougainville Affairs gave the appropriate advice to the Governor General, and the internal procedures required for the head of State to gazette the relevant notice have been observed. It is expected that

very shortly the constitutional amendments and the Organic Law on Peace-Building on Bougainville will become fully operational. With that act, a new era will have dawned in the relations between the National Government and Bougainville, and a significant milestone will have been reached in the implementation of the Peace Agreement. The stage will have been set for the next steps to be taken, including the holding of elections for a Bougainville autonomous Government, in the context of the autonomy arrangements.

Where preparations for autonomy are concerned, consultations have been taking place between the National Government and the Bougainville Administration on a number of fronts simultaneously — on the making of a Bougainville Constitution, on law and justice, and on the Interim Joint Supervisory Body, which is responsible for overseeing the implementation of arrangements for the establishment and operation of the autonomous Bougainville Government.

Where the funding of constitutional and electoral activities is concerned, the Bougainville side is currently preparing a detailed budget that would cover further meetings of the Bougainville Constitutional Commission and of a Constituent Assembly, which would finalize and adopt a Constitution, as well as other elections-related expenses. Following the approval of the budget by the provincial authorities, decisions need to be made on the sources of funding.

Some work still needs to be done in all of these areas, but UNPOB believes that the completion of verification and certification will serve as a stimulus for the advancement of these activities. The Minister for Bougainville Affairs is due to visit the island very shortly. UNPOB expects that this visit will be an opportunity for all outstanding obligations to be cleared, so that movement towards the full implementation of the autonomy arrangements can proceed with all deliberate speed.

Meanwhile, the process of weapons collection continues, and will continue — for verification of stage II does not mean the end of that process. UNPOB is therefore pushing ahead with its Operation Continuing Vigilance and Final Phase programmes, which seek the collection of greater numbers of uncontained weapons and their storage in secure conditions. Last week we contained 20 such weapons in two locations on the island.

According to the Peace Agreement, the parties have four and half months after the coming into effect of the constitutional amendments to make a decision on the final fate of the contained weapons. The National Government and the Bougainville Resistance Force have both indicated a preference for destruction, while the Bougainville Revolutionary Army prefers secure storage. The two factions are due to meet shortly in order to seek a unified position on the question of the final fate of the weapons. UNPOB has been requested to preside over that consultation, which will take place during the last week of August.

In keeping with the concerns expressed by the people in the pre-verification consultations, it is essential that efforts be intensified by all concerned to ensure Mr. Ona's participation in the peace process, or, at the very least, that he maintains his position of respect for that process. UNPOB, for its part, will do all that is possible to help achieve that goal.

In the remaining months of our mandate, UNPOB will continue to work hard to ensure that the peace process keeps moving forward. This will require sustained effort and continuing commitment by the parties to the Peace Agreement. On the basis of experience, we are confident that we will be able to continue to rely on all of the parties to manifest these attitudes. We believe also that we will be able to continue to rely upon the support of the regional partners and of the international community in general.

In this process, we are happy to have the cooperation and support of the newly established Bougainville Transition Team, the successor to the Peace Monitoring Group, which completed its mission on 30 June last. We already have a relationship of solid cooperation with the BTT. We exchange views and information on developments in the peace process. We cooperate in contacts with Bougainvilleans throughout the island, and the BTT played a most valuable role in getting the majority of the participants in the last PPCC meeting to Buka and back to their villages. The BTT is also assisting UNPOB in checking and recording weapons collected, and it also presented its first report on ceasefire violations to the Committee. UNPOB is very grateful for that cooperation of the BTT, and we express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to the contributing Governments.

With the withdrawal of UNPOB at the end of this year, a special responsibility will devolve on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in terms of providing continuing international support for Bougianville's peace consolidation efforts. It is essential that UNPOB and the Department of Political Affairs work closely with UNDP in order to ensure continuity of United Nations activities on a sound and sustainable basis after December 2003. To that end, the consultations are under way with UNDP on various issues so as to develop a joint approach for the smooth transition. Meanwhile, UNDP itself is in the process of formulating phase II of its rehabilitation, reconstruction and development programmes on the island.

In summary, therefore, the situation in Bougainville is that stage II of the weapons disposal plan has been declared completed. The parties have already begun to talk seriously among themselves about stage III, for which they have a deadline in the middle of December. While the Bougainvilleans work on this aspect, they are at the same time working to advance the autonomy aspects of the Agreement, most importantly finalization of the Constitution and the holding of elections. There are challenges in all those areas, some of which are huge, but the will is there to persevere and to overcome.

Within the limitations imposed by its current financial situation, the National Government is showing a high level of sensitivity to maintaining its record of compliance with its obligations under the Agreement. The people of Bougainville are showing determination to move beyond weapons and to begin to concentrate on elections, on building institutions and on taking charge of their destiny.

Undergirding all those efforts, UNPOB's impartiality, neutrality and energy remain available to the parties, as we try to ensure that weapons that are collected are kept secure, that outstanding issues in the relations within and between communities are resolved in accordance with Bougainville traditional methods and that Bougainvilleans are well informed about what is happening where implementation of the Agreement is concerned, what the developments signify and what role they can play in advancing them. Closer towards the end of this year, Council members may wish to turn their attention to ways in which the Council can render support to them as they seek to strengthen their peace and make it irreversible.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I call on the representative of Papua New Guinea.

Mr. Aisi (Papua New Guinea): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. I would like to preface my comments by saying that I apologize to the President and the Council members for the lateness of the aide-memoire, which I hope was useful, late as it was. We also note that we have sent the members of the Council documentation and statements from the Papua New Guinea Government in the past several weeks.

My delegation appreciates and thanks the Security Council for the opportunity to open consideration of an agenda item of the greatest importance to the people and Government of Papua New Guinea: the peace process and the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. I deliberately refer to the item as one for consideration, rather than debate, as it concerns matters on which there are no significant differences among members of the United Nations or the parties involved in the peace process on the ground.

There are three issues that I will cover. The first one is verification, the second is regional support for the peace process, and the third is preparations for autonomy, restoration and development.

In terms of verification, the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) has judged that implementation of the agreed weapons disposal plan contained in the Bougainville Peace Agreement has progressed to the point at which it can verify that stage II of the plan has been achieved. Stage II is defined as the time when weapons are held in secure, double-locked containers, with the containers supervised and one of the keys held by UNPOB.

Ambassador Sinclair submitted his report verifying and certifying that achievement to the National Government on Tuesday, 29 July 2003. The presentation took place at the National Parliament House of Papua New Guinea, in Port Moresby, in front of the acting Prime Minister, Hon. Bart Philemon, ministers and members of Parliament, diplomats accredited to Papua New Guinea, senior officials and media representatives who came to witness and report on the event. Consistent with the requirements of the new Part XIV of the Papua New Guinea Constitution, which gives legal effect to the Bougainville Peace Agreement, the responsible minister officially then

advised the Governor-General of Papua New Guinea that the report had been received.

The notice bringing the new Part XIV of the Constitution and the new organic law on peace-building in Bougainville into full operation is expected to appear in the National Gazette later this week. I note that Ambassador Sinclair also mentioned that in his presentation.

The framework for the establishment and the gradual assumption of increasing responsibility for the exercise of powers, functions and control over resources and the day-to-day operations of the autonomous Bougainville Government will then be in place. So will the guarantee for a referendum among Bougainvilleans on Bougainville's political future in another 10 to 15 years, when certain agreed conditions apply. The referendum will include a separate independence for Bougainville as an available option. The outcome will be subject to the final decision-making authority of the National Parliament of Papua New Guinea.

A significant feature of the new constitutional arrangements is that they can be changed only if a proposal for change is supported by a two-thirds absolute majority of members of the National Parliament of Papua New Guinea and by the Bougainville legislature set up under those arrangements.

As Ambassador Sinclair has recognized in his verification report, the changes that follow the verification report mean that "relations between the National Government and Bougainville become transformed for all time".

The readiness with which the parties involved in the Bougainville peace process agreed to make UNPOB responsible for initiating such critical constitutional changes was a mark of the faith all of them had in the neutrality, independence and integrity of the United Nations and its representative on the ground, Ambassador Sinclair and UNPOB. The reception the parties gave the draft report, when the Chairman, Ambassador Sinclair, presented it to the Peace Process Consultative Committee (PPCC) on 25 July, showed that they continue to have similar confidence in the United Nations, UNPOB and Ambassador Sinclair. The way in which all the parties have maintained such confidence at a critical turning point in the peace process, when uncertainty is otherwise likely to rise, is very much to the credit of the United Nations bodies and officials involved in this process. It is also a product of the verification process itself.

As members of the Security Council will recall, Papua New Guinea has always believed that verification should be based on the widest possible consultation. Our position has been endorsed by all of the parties involved in the Bougainville peace process. UNPOB has applied it with energy and care. Genuine verification cannot just be a matter of counting the number of guns handed in, or of comparing that number with an uncertain estimate of the weapons at large previously or now.

As Ambassador Sinclair rightly observes in his verification report, the Bougainville Peace Agreement is intended to lay a solid foundation for the creation of a society characterized by genuine peace and the restoration of civil authority under a democratically elected autonomous Government. The foundations of such a society can only be feelings of mutual security and confidence within and among various communities of Bougainville. The weapons disposal plan is an essential element in promoting a secure foundation for the required feelings of mutual security and confidence.

It was accordingly appropriate — indeed necessary — for Ambassador Sinclair to proceed on the basis of consultations, after consulting widely at community level around Bougainville with former combatants and political leaders of all major factions and with the Transitional Consultative Council, in which leaders of the main political bodies representing the people of Bougainville consult with each other and the National Government of Papua New Guinea. Ambassador Sinclair was also willing to provide clarification of his verification report, when requested, to the Government of Papua New Guinea.

The final step in the process, before Ambassador Sinclair formally submitted the final report to the National Government, was the presentation of the report to the PPCC, where the parties involved in the Bougainville peace process could receive and review it together. The only significant absentee from the consultations was Francis Ona and his remaining supporters outside the peace process in the so-called "no-go zone", around the Panguna Mine site.

The consensus of the parties involved in the peace process and the PPCC meeting on 25 July was that the report is balanced, comprehensive and frank. This view was reached in light of a number of considerations, including the way in which consultations had been conducted all around Bougainville, the report's acknowledgement of the work still to be done to rid Bougainville of the fear and threat of the gun, and UNPOB's careful assessment of the risks involved in deciding whether and when to verify and certify that stage II has been achieved.

In basing its assessment on the evidence provided both from practical weapons disposal and through widespread, in-depth consultations, UNPOB acknowledges that it alone is responsible for making the final judgment on verification. That is the basis on which the parties agreed that UNPOB should verify and certify stage II of the agreed weapons disposal plan. The Government would have it no other way.

The most significant gap in practical weapons disposal and the Bougainville peace process as a whole arises from the way in which Francis Ona and his remaining supporters close to Panguna have chosen to remain outside this process. But even here, progress is being made. In practice, those who continue to remain outside the Bougainville peace process have generally respected the peace which has been achieved.

As the verification report recognizes, citing a letter from Francis Ona to Ambassador Sinclair, the Me'ekamui Defence Force does not intend,

> "to enter into any unnecessary conflict or war. The war is well and truly behind us as our military objectives have been achieved and our struggle must, as it has, progressively move on into new directions and areas."

In such circumstances, it is indeed distressing to see various documents circulating in Bougainville, purportedly expressing the views of Francis Ona and the remaining hard core of Me'ekamui supporters that there is a conspiracy to undermine the Bougainville peace process or undertake other unwelcome activities in Bougainville. The alleged conspiracy is variously said to be between the Government of Papua New Guinea and others — sometimes a mining company or companies, and sometimes the United Nations. The circulation of such untrue and implausible ideas is, at best, a sign of isolation.

For this reason, the Government of Papua New Guinea and other parties involved in the peace process continue to call for reconciliation, and the active involvement of Francis Ona and Me'ekamui in practical peace-building. Now is the time for them to play a direct part in shaping the future Government of Bougainville. The Government of Papua New Guinea continues to recognize the positive contribution Francis Ona and his group have made to the Bougainville peace process by not deliberately disrupting it on the ground.

Meanwhile, the Government continues to urge the Bougainville parties to meet and decide on the final fate of the weapons without further unnecessary delay. I am therefore pleased to be able to inform the United Nations that the PPCC has agreed that the meeting will be held on Nissan Island, in the Bougainville province, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made, probably in a few weeks.

The Government of Papua New Guinea firmly believes that destroying the guns at the earliest practicable opportunity is the only truly effective option and the only way in which guns will be removed not only physically, but from the minds of the people in Bougainville. It is also the best way by far of ensuring that scarce human and financial resources are not wasted on providing security for guns and containers, but rather used to support the economic and social recovery for which people around Bougainville and the rest of Papua New Guinea continue to work, hope and pray.

Thus, verification and certification of stage II do not mark the end of UNPOB's role and responsibilities on the ground. In citing the initiatives UNPOB is taking to promote further practical weapons disposal, the report recognizes this reality. Not only does UNPOB remain responsible for supervising and holding one of the keys to each stage II container, it has a continuing role in relation to the making and implementation of the decision at stage III of the agreed weapons disposal plan. If the parties do not reach a mutually acceptable agreement at stage III, then UNPOB has a further possible role and responsibility in relation to determining whether or not elections for the autonomous Bougainville Government should go ahead or should be deferred, in which case it will have a say in the length of any deferral.

UNPOB's ongoing role and responsibilities underline the urgency of holding the stage III meeting between the parties to the Bougainville Peace Agreement and implementing its outcome. This means that UNPOB will still have a great deal of very important, indeed critical, work to do in order to complete its agreed assignment under the Bougainville Peace Agreement by the end of this year.

I turn now to regional support for the peace process. The Bougainville peace process has benefited from the generous support not only of the United Nations, but of Papua New Guinea's friends in the region and development cooperation partners around the world.

The neutral regional Truce Monitoring Group (TMG) was established first, in late 1997. It was then replaced by the similarly neutral regional Peace Monitoring Group (PMG), when the agreement implementing the permanent and irrevocable ceasefire was signed on 30 April 1998. Both the TMG and the PMG consisted of personnel from Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu. The men and women who served in the ranks, both civilian and military, were unarmed. From a peak of just of over 300 personnel at the start, the PMG has gradually been reduced in size as the peace process gathered strength and become increasingly capable of sustaining itself on the ground.

As members of the Security Council will recall, all of the parties involved in the Bougainville peace process were concerned when it was announced that the PMG would cease operations on 30 June 2003. The gap it would leave would be experienced directly by the people who gained confidence from its continuing presence. It would also be felt by UNPOB, which relied on the PMG for logistical and other forms of support.

I am therefore pleased to report that the contributing countries have agreed to provide a Bougainville Transition Team (BTT) to support the peace process until the end of this year.

The BTT, consisting of 17 civilian personnel from Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu, will be much smaller and have a more narrowly focused mandate than the PMG. It will, of course, continue to be unarmed. In view of concerns expressed when the Security Council previously considered the Bougainville peace process and UNPOB, I am pleased to advise that the protocol establishing the BTT gives it the explicit function of cooperating with United Nations observers, on agreed terms and conditions.

Papua New Guinea is grateful for the positive way in which the BTT contributing countries have responded to the request by the National Government, on behalf of the parties, for the continuing availability of a neutral regional body to support the peace process and assist UNPOB logistically and in other ways. Ambassador Sinclair has mentioned some of the ways it is assisting.

Finally, I would like to turn to the preparations for autonomy, restoration and development. Weapons disposal and the full operation of new constitutional arrangements lay the foundations for progress in other areas, but they do not build peace on their own. Given our experience of the challenges involved in implementing major constitutional changes of our own and our close observation of peace processes in other countries, Papua New Guinea is only too well aware of the many diverse and, often, complex challenges which have to be met and overcome.

That is why the Government is working closely with leaders and officials in Bougainville to finalize immediate arrangements to improve policing and access to courts and increase the availability of correctional services in Bougainville. We are also consulting on plans for the medium and long term.

In every case, the Government is conscious of the need to maintain consistency with the letter and spirit of the Bougainville Peace Agreement, including the consultations and cooperation which are the agreed keys to implementation.

Other steps towards creating conditions in which the autonomous Bougainville Government can be established and begin operating include consultations on the development of the Bougainville constitution.

The Government is trying its hardest, in difficult economic and budgetary conditions, to allocate funds, personnel and other support to facilitate progress towards self-sustaining peace and the transition to autonomy in Bougainville. In doing so, we continue to rely on the support of our development cooperation partners. Australia, the European Union, Japan, New Zealand and others should know how much we appreciate the resources they provide.

Among members of the United Nations family of organizations, the United Nations Development

Programme (UNDP) stands out for the strong and effective support it provides for practical weapons disposal, community development and the training of former combatants, in particular. The UNDP-coordinated cocoa and coconut rehabilitation project is an especially noteworthy and successful instance of an activity which facilitates both economic and social recovery, as well as the reintegration of former combatants, by providing large numbers of rural smallholders with employment, incomes and hope based on self-help.

The United Nations Children's Fund provides support for restoration and development across a broad range of activities, including immunization, HIV/AIDS awareness, malaria control, education, child protection and trauma counselling.

Other areas in which Papua New Guinea will be seeking advice and other forms of assistance include public sector reform and other preparations for the establishment of the autonomous Bougainville Government.

Priorities include the provision of opportunities for training, re-training and upgrading the skills of public sector personnel and potential recruits. They also include support for capacity-building and institutional strengthening, both in Bougainville and at the national level, so that the cooperation necessary to give full effect to the joint creation embodied in the Bougainville Peace Agreement can receive the support it requires at both ends.

As development cooperation partners work to integrate their activities in Bougainville into national projects and programmes, the Government requests them to continue giving appropriate attention and priority to the particular character of the post-conflict situation in Bougainville. The need to reintegrate former combatants and their communities remains a major concern.

As my remarks have, I believe, made clear, the peace process in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, remains a national priority, pursued on a bipartisan basis. Papua New Guinea is accordingly grateful for the support the international community continues to provide.

The Government has accepted, and acted on, UNPOB's verification report and certification, as the constitutional amendment implementing the Bougainville Peace Agreement requires.

As UNPOB's host, Papua New Guinea will continue to fully support its efforts to fulfil its agreed responsibilities under the Lincoln, ceasefire and Bougainville peace agreements and, in doing so, help to secure lasting peace by peaceful means.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I would like to thank Ambassador Sinclair for his detailed and clear briefing. More generally, I would like to thank the staff of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) for the work that they have accomplished. I would also like to thank our colleague from Papua New Guinea for the clarifications that he provided. I would further like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Peace Monitoring Group and its contributing countries on their activities.

I would like to make three brief comments. First, the conclusion of stage II of weapons disposal is, of course, a welcome development after more than a year of successive delays. We must now move on to stage III — the final decision on weapons disposal — without delay.

Secondly, we believe that establishing contacts with Francis Ona with a view to bringing him into the peace process should be continued. Such a dialogue should not, however, result in any delay in the priority implementation of the Bougainville Peace Agreement.

Thirdly, we would like to encourage the efforts of Papua New Guinea and of all the parties. Such efforts must be directed towards setting a date for the speedy organization of elections in Bougainville, the effective holding of those elections and, finally, the establishment of an autonomous Government.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): Let me first welcome Ambassador Sinclair and thank him very much for his very informative and complete report; we appreciated it very much. I would also like to thank the representative of Papua New Guinea for his statement. He gave us a very encouraging and positive assessment.

I am very pleased that stage II could finally be completed. We greatly appreciate the commitment of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) in that matter. In that context, we would also like to assure the countries participating in the Peace Monitoring Group of our greatest appreciation. We

warmly welcome the further regional engagement of Australia and New Zealand in the Bougainville transition team, in which they will shortly be joined by Fiji and Vanuatu.

We must not, of course, forget the active involvement of the people of Papua New Guinea and Bougainville, without which the ongoing peace process will not be able to succeed. Their support for the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville and their active participation in the weapons collection have led to the verification of stage II. Furthermore, Papua New Guinea showed its commitment to the peace process by facilitating the quick acceptance and implementation of arrangements which were required for the Bougainville Transition Team to take up its work.

Given the full ownership of this process by the people of Bougainville and Papua New Guinea, the departure of the United Nations Office by the end of this year will, in our view, be the right next step. For its last month in action, UNPOB should set out a rigid timetable to ensure the progress of constitutional work. Therefore, all possible assistance should be made available to Ambassador Sinclair and his staff. In our view, the Secretariat is indispensable in this respect.

With regard to stage III, we highly recommend the complete destruction of all weapons, as a lasting peace cannot be ensured otherwise. The parties should be aware that without an agreement in this regard the peace process might be held up and the holding of elections might also be delayed unnecessarily. We hope that the meeting announced by the representative of Papua New Guinea will be successful in that regard.

The achievements reached thus far show that the peace process is under way and will not be stopped. Therefore, efforts to have Francis Ona and his movement join the peace process should be maintained. At the same time, he needs to know and to understand that the peace process and the people of Bougainville cannot wait for him.

In conclusion, let me say that Germany will continue, within the framework of the European Union, to contribute to the further development of a functioning civil society in that region.

Mr. Thomson (United Kingdom): I would like to associate myself with the remarks of the two previous speakers in thanking Ambassador Sinclair very much for his careful account of the situation, welcoming the details that the Ambassador of Papua New Guinea has offered us, congratulating the Peace Monitoring Group on their role and urging continuing regional engagement.

The picture is an upbeat one. We are pleased, of course, that stage II of the weapons disposal plan has taken place. I think it can be fairly said that the new constitutional arrangements that result are historic for Papua New Guinea, and I would like particularly to congratulate Ambassador Sinclair and his Office for their role.

I have just two brief points to draw from this. The first relates to the continuing separation of Francis Ona and his supporters from the peace process. As Ambassador Sinclair said, that must be a source of concern to all. We welcome the efforts of all concerned, including the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), in trying to bring Francis Ona and his supporters on board the peace process. It will be right to continue to try to do so, but I join France and Germany in agreeing that this must in no way delay the peace process.

My second point is an obvious one. It is the need for continued and exclusive focus on delivering progress and momentum in stage III. We do not wish to see any further delays in that process, which means that there are a tight four and a half months within which to work. So, it was good to hear from Ambassador Sinclair and to have confirmed by our colleague from Papua New Guinea the commitment of the Papua New Guinea Government to moving forward briskly on arrangements for autonomy, on the finalization of the constitution, on the transfer of resources to Bougainville and on preparations for early elections. As both Ambassador Sinclair and the representative of Papua New Guinea have underscored, these too, in addition to weapons containment, are essential to building the self-sustaining peace to which we all look forward.

Mr. Simancas (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation would like to thank the representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), Ambassador Noel Sinclair, for the information that he has just provided. Before the Peace Monitoring Group leaves Bougainville, I would also like to express our gratitude

for the work and support that Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu have provided to Bougainville.

In that regard, Mexico welcomes the decision by those countries to send representatives to the Bougainville Transition Team to follow up on the peace process. That kind of initiative sends the clear message that the international community attaches importance to the advancement of the peace process and the establishment of an autonomous and representative Government in Bougainville.

Finally, stage II of the weapons collection plan has been successfully concluded under the watchful supervision of Ambassador Sinclair. Bearing in mind the experience gained in other conflicts where a delay in the final disposal of collected weapons has been used by some disruptive elements to resume hostilities or return to criminal activities, it is essential for the Security Council to urge the Peace Process Consultative Committee to begin disposal of weapons as soon as possible. In a society that has opted for dialogue, tolerance and understanding, there is simply no place for weapons.

Throughout the peace process, the cooperation of the Government of Papua New Guinea has been essential. It is now important for the State bodies to reach prompt agreement on a draft constitution for the island so that elections may be held as soon as possible to establish an autonomous and democratic Government in Bougainville. However, political progress is not sufficient if it does not go hand in hand with essential economic and social development. Therefore, it is essential for the donor community to support the establishment of sustainable economic and social conditions by channelling resources towards infrastructure, education, health and development projects. In these efforts, reintegration and rehabilitation of ex-combatants should be promoted. That in turn will contribute to a peaceful transition to a political future for Bougainville.

Finally, I wish to express once again Mexico's gratitude for the work carried out by Ambassador Sinclair and his staff, whose commitment has been reflected in positive progress towards achieving a lasting solution to the conflict in Bougainville.

Mr. Smirnov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Our delegation too is grateful to Ambassador Sinclair for his thorough briefing. We thank the representative of Papua New Guinea for further clarifications on the peace process. We support the efforts of the parties in implementing the Bougainville Peace Agreement and we welcome the commitment of the Papua New Guinea Government and the Bougainville communities to a peaceful settlement.

We note with satisfaction the positive progress in the peace process and the constitutional stage that it has entered as a result of the successful completion of stage II of weapons disposal. This was possible on the basis of broad-based consultations and the confidence that was placed in the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB). We also highly commend the work of UNPOB, headed by Mr. Sinclair, in moving forward and achieving results in the peace process. Much work remains to be done, and there are concerns that not all parties concerned are involved in the peace process. We believe that the political efforts of UNPOB and the Papua New Guinea Government must be continued, and we fully support these efforts. We believe that the UNPOB mandate will be successfully completed within the established time frame.

We greatly welcome the regional efforts made, including the activities of the Political Monitoring Group, which completed its work on 30 June. We hope that the Bougainville Transition Team, comprising Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu, will accomplish its mission and contribute to the successful implementation of the peace process. We believe it is important to continue and intensify cooperation between the United Nations Development Programme and other bodies of the United Nations in supporting regional organizations and the post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building processes in Bougainville.

Mr. Antonio (Angola): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting on the situation in Bougainville. I should also like to express my thanks to Ambassador Sinclair and to our colleague from Papua New Guinea for this briefing, which provided an update on the situation in the territory.

My delegation highly appreciates the progress in the political process since the adoption of the Bougainville Peace Agreement, particularly the significant improvement in the constitutional aspect. The Bougainville Constitutional Commission has been working to arrive at a consensual Bougainville constitution. The Peace Monitoring Group, whose

mandate expired on 30 June, has been succeeded by the Bougainville Transition Team. The completion of stage II of the weapons disposal plan has been verified and certified by the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB). We welcome all those achievements; they are proof of the unequivocal determination of the people of Bougainville to reach peace. Therefore, we should like to join those who have called upon Mr. Francis Ona to join the positive trends that are occurring in the territory.

A new Bougainville constitution is a central part of the implementation of the Peace Agreement. It is therefore important that the draft constitution be finalized and submitted to the Constituent Assembly of Bougainville for adoption as a step towards the achievement of goals set for the transitional period, an essential element in the shaping of Bougainville's future. With the completion of stage II of the weapons disposal plan, the constitutional process can proceed swiftly with a view to holding elections as soon as possible.

My delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the increased cooperation between Papua New Guinea and Bougainville. The spirit of commitment and trust between them has also been demonstrated in other areas, such as the demobilization and reintegration of former combatants into society and the rebuilding of infrastructure.

My delegation hopes that Bougainville will be one more case of a successful post-conflict situation. Peacemaking and peace-building are often closely interrelated. That interrelationship requires a comprehensive approach in order to preserve the results achieved. We are convinced that the United Nations will continue its sustained peace-building efforts in Bougainville, in particular to address pressing issues of security and stability in that area by establishing and increasing the capacity of the local political structures.

My delegation encourages the recently created Bougainville Transition Team to monitor fulfilment of the commitments assumed in the Action Plan. In that context, Angola welcomes the contributions of Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu. We also support the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme and of other agencies in this post-conflict rehabilitation period. We express our gratitude to the donors — particularly countries in the region — for their assistance. It is also gratifying to hear renewed commitments with regard to the future sustainable development of Bougainville.

In conclusion, we should like to commend the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville and to express the hope that it will continue to work to achieve the goals set out in the Bougainville Peace Agreement, which, in our opinion, remains a consistent objective in shaping the future of Bougainville.

Ms. Menéndez (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation would like to thank Ambassador Sinclair for his briefing today and to congratulate him on his work at the head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB).

We have noted with satisfaction the positive developments in the fields of disarmament and the political process in preparation for autonomy, despite the fragility of the processes, about which Ambassador Sinclair himself informed us.

Actually, I have little to add to what was said by the delegations that preceded me, so I shall limit myself to asking a question of Mr. Sinclair. In his statement, the subject of cooperation between UNPOB and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to ensure a smooth and effective transition in the post-UNPOB phase was very interesting to me. He said that there is a series of consultations between UNPOB and the UNDP on a number of issues to develop joint efforts and a joint approach. I should like to know if he could be a bit more specific as to what those areas of cooperation would be in order to ensure such an effective and smooth transition in the future.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, I should like to express my appreciation for the convening of this public meeting to inform the Council of the recent activities of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB). In addition, I am grateful to Ambassador Sinclair for his briefing, and I thank the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea for his statement.

We welcome the completion of stage II of the weapons disposal plan, a process that UNPOB has facilitated and accelerated. We welcome the holding of broadened consultations with the national Government, political leaders, leaders of various factions and the people of Bougainville themselves, which has given everyone the opportunity to discuss the progress in the

peace process. In that connection, one of the most important elements is the strengthening of mutual trust and of the sense of security in the community. We particularly value the fact that the completion of this process allows Section XIV of the national Constitution, the new organic peace-building law, the autonomous Government of Bougainville and the elections to enter into full force.

We recognize the importance of the new Constitution as central to the implementation of the Peace Agreement of August 2001, which is why we emphasize the considerable progress achieved as well as the active participation of the island's population. In particular, we consider the second draft, which was finalized in May, to be of great importance. Therefore, we believe it is essential that the Bougainville Constitutional Commission continue its work, using that text as a basis.

Moreover, we share the view expressed by a number of previous speakers that it is necessary to ensure that the international community support with the necessary resources a number of priority areas, such as finalization of the establishment of the Constituent Assembly in Bougainville. Assistance in preparing for elections is also essential.

We welcome the growing cooperation between the authorities of Papua New Guinea and the leaders of Bougainville. We reiterate our gratitude for the work done by the Peace Monitoring Group over the past five years and wish every success to the Bougainville Transition Team, which has recently begun its support efforts.

Like others, we recognize the invaluable contributions made by Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu, inter alia. We would like to highlight in particular the support that must provided in promoting trust in this peace process in the transition towards an autonomous Government.

Finally, we wish to note that, in order for peace to be sustainable, an effective administration and a viable economy must be established. Accordingly, the relevant bodies of the United Nations must coordinate their efforts in Bougainville closely with those of the international donor community in order to establish and consolidate peace. In this context, we welcome the efforts made by the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund in the area.

In conclusion, we reiterate our gratitude to Ambassador Noel Sinclair and his team for the outstanding work they have done in Bougainville. We wish them every success in their future efforts to bring peace, security and stability to the people of Bougainville.

Mr. Khalid (Pakistan): At the outset, I would like to thank Ambassador Sinclair for his comprehensive briefing on the situation in Bougainville. I would like also to welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea at this table and to thank him for his statement.

Pakistan supports the work of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) and appreciates the efforts of all the parties which have worked to seek, facilitate and implement a peaceful solution to the conflict in that territory. We appreciate in particular the Government of Papua New Guinea's courageous decisions and strong commitment to peace. These have been crucial to the success of the peace process.

We welcome the completion and verification of stage II of the weapons disposal plan under UNPOB's supervision, which took place last month. This was a crucial step in triggering the constitutional process. That process will clear the way for elections for an autonomous Government in Bougainville next year, as well as the eventual holding of a referendum in which the people of Bougainville will exercise their right of self-determination, in accordance with the provisions of the Lincoln and Arawa agreements.

Pakistan strongly supports this path, which the parties have courageously agreed to follow. However, more needs to be done to encourage those groups which remain outside the peace process to join it. Peace is the only solution, and this process, painstaking though it is, remains its best guarantor. However, to sustain peace, it is crucial to promote and sustain socio-economic development. The two are indivisible. Therefore, we urge the donor community to contribute generously not only to the financing of the peace process but also to the promotion of long-term socio-economic development.

Pakistan regards the mandate of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville, which expires at the end of this year, as crucial for building peace as well as trust in that territory. We hope that the role of the United Nations in Bougainville will not end with

the expiry of UNPOB's mandate and that the United Nations will continue to work there and to stay the course in facilitating the full implementation of the peace process.

In conclusion, I cannot but express the wish that the very successful role of mediation and facilitation played by the United Nations in Bougainville could also be replicated in another, albeit far more longstanding and dangerous, dispute which remains on the Security Council's agenda — the issue of enabling the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir, in accordance with the resolutions of the Council.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): We share many of the sentiments expressed by other speakers so far around the table, and I think that there is a clear message of Council support to which I want to add. We similarly thank Ambassador Sinclair for his briefing and, more importantly, for his effective efforts to promote lasting peace and to complete the mandate of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB). I wish also to thank our colleague the Ambassador of Papua New Guinea for his informative contribution to the discussion this morning.

We are encouraged by the progress that is obviously being made, as is apparent in both presentations, and we very much welcome the fact that the completion of stage II of the weapons disposal process has been verified. We support moving forward with stage III expeditiously and, hopefully, with the participation of all concerned. It is important to move forward.

We also particularly want to commend Australia and New Zealand, as well as Fiji and Vanuatu, for having taken such a positive initiative in supporting the peace process in Bougainville with the creation of the Bougainville Transition Team. This is an important element of regional support for the parties and, indeed, for the international community and the United Nations as a whole.

With less than six months left before UNPOB's mandate expires, we know that the United Nations and UNPOB will be working hard to ensure completion of the remaining tasks by December 2003, helping to create the basis for the establishment of Bougainville's autonomy. UNPOB and the parties will have our support and encouragement.

Mr. Chungong Ayafor (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): Cameroon welcomes the convening today, at the request of the Government of Papua New Guinea, of this public meeting on the situation in Bougainville. We appreciate the excellent briefing given by Mr. Sinclair, who brought to our attention some very useful information on recent developments in the peace process in Bougainville. We welcome also the important information given to us by the representative of Papua New Guinea. These briefings are testimony to the unstoppable momentum of the peace process. However, challenges remain with respect to the establishment in Bougainville of an autonomous Government and to the holding of a referendum.

The completion of stage II of the weapons disposal process on 30 July last represents a significant step towards peace. We welcome the firm commitment of all the parties to this conflict, since the signing of the Lincoln ceasefire agreement, to work to restore peace and in particular to develop a new political dynamic on the island — one that is more respectful of the character and of the deep-seated convictions of the 185,000 men and women of Bougainville.

The excellent work of UNPOB remains vital to achieving this objective. We also appreciate the manifold and valuable role played to date by Mr. Sinclair, Head of UNPOB, and his team, particularly in speeding up weapons collection and helping to promote the constitutional process and to better inform the people of the stakes involved.

Regarding the Government of Papua New Guinea, its commitment to peace has recently been reflected in a number of actions and initiatives, which we view very favourably. Such is the case of the withdrawal, with the help of Australia, of the national Defence Force from Bougainville; of the participation, which we view positively, of the Government of Papua New Guinea in the Bougainville constitutional consultation process; and, above all, of the respect for the terms of the memorandum of understanding that envisages a mechanism for consultation between them on all aspects of implementation of the autonomy arrangements.

We also particularly appreciate the excellent work done by the States members of the Peace Monitoring Group (PMG), which have contributed to stability and to restoring confidence in the peace process over the past five years.

The creation on the margins of the 30 June 2003 Sydney, Australia, meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Pacific Islands Forum of the Bougainville Transition Team, which broadly inherits the competencies and means of the PMG, gives us the assurance that the risk that the peace process will break down is under control. In that regard, we wish to commend the Pacific States, particularly Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Vanuatu, for their noteworthy commitment to peace in Bougainville. We call on them to continue those efforts in order to accompany that province towards peace and development.

But to achieve that, the population of Bougainville will need to give the international community further indications of its will for peace. In fact, the success of coming stages depends mainly on that will and on that commitment to peace, as is only proper.

Concluding the constitutional process; completing stage III of weapons disposal, which should lead to a final decision on the fate of the weapons collected in stage II; and the holding of elections leading to the establishment of an autonomous Government: those are all steps that urgently involve the people of Bougainville. For our part, we are certain that they will be able to meet those challenges within a time frame that is in keeping with the UNPOB mandate, which will end on 31 December 2003. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that the ultimate objectives of the entire peace process are the development and the well-being of the people of Bougainville.

Until now emphasis has been placed on the political aspects of the process. The parties to the conflict, the international community and the various parties must make more of a commitment in the future to economic processes, without which peace and stability would be illusory. Therefore, the programme for the reintegration of former combatants will need to be a priority task if we wish to maintain, throughout the transition, a spirit of consensus that takes account of the particular situation of the parties and that ensures a climate of law and order. We welcome the actions already taken in that regard by the donor community, and the United Nations Development Programme particularly.

Peace in Bougainville is possible. It is within our grasp. One last effort is necessary to achieve it, and we are confident that the people of Bougainville and the international community will be able to achieve it, transforming this challenge into a new success for peace and development.

Mr. Boubacar Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I wish at the outset to express my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, for organizing this open meeting. It demonstrates well the Council's interest in the question of Bougainville.

Like other speakers, I too would like to thank Ambassador Noel Sinclair, Head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), for his briefing on recent developments in implementing the Bougainville Peace Agreement. My delegation welcomes with satisfaction those recent developments, which confirm the hope aroused by the progress made in implementing stage II of the weapons disposal plan, of which we spoke here last March.

We are particularly pleased to emphasize the importance of having concluded stage II, which is crucial to the future of the island inasmuch as it opens the way to the constitutional process that should lead to autonomy. The report on that subject, officially submitted to the Government of Papua New Guinea by the Head of UNPOB on 29 July, makes clear reference to this.

In addition, the recent deployment to Bougainville of a civilian Transition Team after the departure of the Peace Monitoring Group is to be welcomed because it signals a short-term settlement of the question of Bougainville and the cessation of UNPOB activities in December 2003, in accordance with the Council's earlier decision.

While we should be pleased with the progress made, my delegation believes that there are still important challenges to be addressed. The effective participation of all the protagonists in the ongoing peace process and the reintegration of former combatants are priorities, in order to reach a final settlement of the conflict.

In that context, we are also convinced of the crucial need to ensure the economic development of the island, without which peace cannot be a sustainable reality. That is why we reiterate our appeal to the donor

community to become more fully involved for the economic and social development of Bougainville.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its appreciation to UNPOB for the tangible results achieved in implementing the Bougainville Peace Agreement. Finally, we encourage the civilian Transition Team in its efforts to restore peace and stability.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I wish at the outset to thank Ambassador Sinclair, the representative of the Secretary-General, for his very comprehensive briefing. I also appreciate the briefing by the representative of Papua New Guinea.

On 29 July, Ambassador Sinclair submitted to the Government of Papua New Guinea a report verifying and certifying the completion of the work of stage II. The relevant Papua New Guinea constitutional amendment and the new organic law have begun to be formally implemented. Implementation of the Bougainville Peace Agreement has yielded preliminary results, for which the Chinese Government feels greatly encouraged.

At present, the Bougainville peace process continues to face the task of weapons disposal in stage III. Important work, such as establishment of a constituent assembly to review and adopt a constitution and the holding of elections for an autonomous Government, will be successively carried out.

I shall discuss a few points concerning the peace process.

First, efforts should be continued to step up the weapons collection programme. Success in creating a constitution and holding elections will depend upon the success of the weapons collection programme. We appeal to the various parties to be flexible in order to reach a consensus on how to dispose of the weapons already collected and to conclude the work in stage III. This will help promote confidence among the various parties and will increase the sense of security among the people of Bougainville and their confidence in the peace process.

Secondly, former combatants should be reintegrated into society and plans should be made for them. Weapons collection and disposal is only one element of the security situation. Only by successfully reintegrating the former combatants and guaranteeing that they lead stable lives will security risks be eliminated. China greatly appreciates the work done by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in this regard.

Thirdly, the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) and the Bougainville Transition Team (BTT) should continue to play an important role. Under the leadership of Ambassador Sinclair, UNPOB has made positive contributions to the peace process in Bougainville. China appreciates and will continue to support the work of UNPOB. At the same time, we appreciate the important role played by the outgoing Peace Monitoring Group during its tenure. We welcome the establishment of the BTT.

China encourages UNPOB to continue to conduct full consultations with the Papua New Guinea Government and the relevant parties, in order to try to consistently promote the achievement of the various goals provided for in the Bougainville Peace Agreement.

Mr. Raytchev (Bulgaria): We appreciate the convening of this open meeting on the situation in Bougainville. I join the previous speakers in extending our gratitude to Ambassador Sinclair for his informative briefing. We also thank the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea for his presentation.

Bulgaria welcomes the progress made since the last discussion concerning Bougainville in the Council, and we pay warm tribute to the work of Ambassador Sinclair and his team in Bougainville.

We highly appreciate the conclusion of stage II of the agreed-upon weapons disposal plan contained in the Bougainville Peace Agreement, verified and certified by the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB). The official presentation of the verification report by Ambassador Sinclair creates the conditions for the constitutional laws implementing the Bougainville Peace Agreement to become fully operational. It will open new opportunities for the people of Bougainville to exercise their right to self-government and self-determination, including through the election of an autonomous Government and the holding of the Bougainville referendum. In this context we welcome the efforts of the Bougainville Constitutional Commission.

The Peace Monitoring Group (PMG), in close collaboration with UNPOB, provided active and

efficient support for the Bougainville peace process. The decision of the PMG to curtail its activities is a positive sign of confidence in the sustainability of the peace process. We highly appreciate the readiness of Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu to continue their assistance to the peace process on the ground through the Bougainville Transition Team (BTT). We note that the civilian team of the BTT will cooperate with the United Nations observers in respect of the objectives of the Lincoln Agreement, subject to such terms and conditions as may be mutually determined in consultation between the United Nations and the Parties to the Protocol setting up the BTT.

We share the view that the neutral verification of the conclusion of stage II of the weapons disposal plan does not mark the end of the challenges to the peace process in Bougainville. We support the efforts of all parties to convince Francis Ona and his Me'ekamui Defence Force to join the peace process. We emphasize the importance of promoting dialogue and confidence, and we think that the progress towards stage III of the weapons disposal programme should not be hindered.

Finally, Bulgaria welcomes the contributions of the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund and other United Nations organizations to the peace process in Bougainville. We would appreciate more information with regard to post-conflict peace-building and sustainability and the contributions of those agencies during this phase of the peace process. We are specifically interested in their contributions to the process of reintegration and rehabilitation of former combatants.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I will now make a statement in my capacity as Representative of Syria.

We express our sincere thanks to Mr. Noel Sinclair, Head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), for his comprehensive briefing, which shed light on the latest developments in Bougainville. I would also like to express our support to Ambassador Sinclair and his team, who have worked so diligently in support of the peace process and stability in Bougainville. We appreciate the efforts by the friendly Government of Papua New Guinea and the role it has played in support of the peace process in Bougainville, in addition to its positive contribution and collaboration, which we heard about in the statement of the representative of Papua New Guinea this morning.

There have been important developments since the last briefing of the Security Council, on 28 March 2003, creating a sense of optimism regarding the implementation of the necessary procedures to prepare the new constitution in Bougainville for election of the national Government. These developments include the completion by the Peace Monitoring Group (PMG) of its mandate last June; the succession of the PMG by the Bougainville Transitional Team, which includes 15 to 17 civilian observers from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu; and the adoption by UNPOB of phase II of the weapons disposal plan. We are looking forward with the same sense of optimism to the implementation of phase III of the plan.

Despite the positive comments that have been made today and the general sense of optimism that is prevailing, certain parties — in particularly Mr. Francis Ona and his Me'ekamui Defence Force — are still not participating in the peace process, and this is cause for concern. We therefore hope that the various appeals, and the other efforts that are being deployed, will eventually result in a clear commitment by those parties that are not participating in the peace process to refrain from taking any actions or steps that would hinder or delay the peace process. We also urge them to participate in the Bougainville peace process.

Once again, we reaffirm our support for the Head of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville and his team for their efforts to promote the peace process in Bougainville.

I resume my functions as President of the Council.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Fiji. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Savua (Fiji): It is my honour to make this statement on behalf of the following States members of the Pacific Islands Forum that are Members of the United Nations: Australia, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and my own country, Fiji.

Thank you, Mr. President, for giving us the opportunity to address the Security Council on the

subject of Bougainville. The countries of the Pacific Islands Forum have been actively engaged in supporting the Bougainville peace process for nearly five years, including through the Peace Monitoring Group (PMG), in which Australia, New Zealand, Vanuatu and Fiji participated. The PMG worked closely and cooperatively with the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB). Our support for the peace process is continuing through the deployment of the civilian-led Bougainville Transition Team (BTT).

Both the PMG and the BTT reflect the willingness of our region to work together to find solutions to problems facing one of our members. We firmly believe that, with the commitment and goodwill of neighbours — and working in partnership with the United Nations — we can work to address problems in our region, while acknowledging that, ultimately, long-lasting solutions must be found from within the country. Our role is to facilitate the process by encouraging and assisting the host nation to realize its own goals.

We are gratified that the Bougainville peace process has made substantial and encouraging progress. We note in particular that an important milestone has been passed with the recent verification, by UNPOB Director Noel Sinclair, of stage II of the weapons disposal process. With this development, the road is now clear for the necessary legal changes to be made to allow for Bougainville's autonomy. We encourage all parties to work to reach an early decision on the final fate of the weapons in stage III, which will result in the weapons being permanently removed from Bougainville communities.

The role of UNPOB is even more critical at this stage. It must remain seized of the import issue of concluding the formal peace process before its mandate expires at the end of the year. UNPOB will need to work closely with the United Nations Secretariat to find the best way forward in the remaining months of its time in Bougainville.

The establishment of an effective and affordable autonomous administration in Bougainville will bring with it many challenges. The Pacific Islands Forum region requests the Security Council to remain engaged with the Bougainville peace process in the crucial months ahead. Beyond that, we know that the support and encouragement of the international community and the United Nations system will remain important, as work to build a credible law and justice system, an effective administration and a viable economic base in Bougainville continues.

Our region has done all it can to get Bougainville where it is today. We appeal to the international community to help us carry these efforts further.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dauth (Australia): Thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this open meeting on an issue to which Australia and, as my colleague from Fiji has said, all countries of the Pacific Islands Forum attach a great deal of importance. We, like others, are grateful for the comprehensive briefing provided by Mr. Sinclair. We are also grateful for the typically professional and comprehensive briefing provided by my friend and colleague Ambassador Aisi of Papua New Guinea.

We welcome the opportunity to address the Security Council this morning during its consideration of this issue. We have been a proud supporter of the peace process, including through our leadership of the four-country regional Peace Monitoring Group (PMG). During its five-year deployment, the PMG helped promote stability and build confidence in the peace process. This included crucial support to the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), particularly in implementing the agreed weapons disposal plan.

On 1 July, following requests for a continued regional presence beyond the PMG, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu deployed — as many have remarked this morning — the small, unarmed civilian-led Bougainville Transition Team (BTT). The decision to deploy the BTT demonstrates once again the capacity of the South Pacific community to work together to meet challenges to peace and security in our region. We are, of course, carrying forward that work at the same time as we are working in Solomon Islands — as all members are aware.

In many ways, the decision to withdraw the PMG and deploy the BTT also reflects the progress that has been made to date. This includes the negotiation and signature of the comprehensive Bougainville Peace

Agreement, and strong moves towards its implementation. Since the Peace Agreement was signed just under two years ago, around 1,900 weapons have been contained, a constitution has been drafted and the Papua New Guinea Defence Force has formally withdrawn from Bougainville.

We welcome the recent verification of stage II of the weapons disposal process by UNPOB Director Sinclair. Verification will bring into effect Papua New Guinea laws implementing the Peace Agreement and allowing for Bougainville's autonomy. We commend all parties for the determination and commitment they have shown to date, and urge them to press forward with the final stages of the peace process. In particular, parties must focus on reaching an early and credible decision on the final fate of the weapons that permanently removes the weapons from Bougainvillean communities. They should also move swiftly to plan for free and fair elections for their autonomous Government.

There is, of course, no room for complacency. UNPOB must remain seized of the important matter of concluding the formal peace process before its mandate expires at the end of the year. In particular, UNPOB should focus on promoting an early and credible stage III decision. The Secretariat in New York must be closely engaged and must provide the guidance to ensure that this occurs. In closing, we would note that although much has been achieved, the challenges facing Bougainville in the coming period are numerous, and include establishing an effective and affordable autonomous administration, developing credible legal and judicial arrangements, and encouraging economic development. Australia urges all parties to remain seized of these challenges, and is itself committed to providing the parties with ongoing support. We hope that the international community and the United Nations system will also stand ready to assist in these endeavours.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MacKay (New Zealand): Let be begin by recording my thanks to the Council for once again enabling this discussion of the peace process on the Papua New Guinea island of Bougainville to take place in an open meeting. This appropriately allows for input from the countries in the Pacific region that have been supporting this process for the last five years, politically, through the provision of personnel to the Truce Monitoring and Peace Monitoring Groups, and through the provision of development assistance.

Let me also express New Zealand's thanks to Mr. Sinclair and his team at the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), and to thank Mr. Sinclair for his presentation and update here this morning. Mr. Sinclair and his small Office have played a key supportive role in cementing peace on Bougainville, most recently by declaring that stage II of the weapons disposal process, that of secondary containment under a dual-key system, has been completed. This is a welcome development. Much is yet to be done, however, and it is crucial that Mr. Sinclair and UNPOB use their remaining five months on Bougainville to best effect.

New Zealand is pleased to learn of the plans to hold a meeting to discuss the final fate of the weapons, stage III, on Nissan Island off the Bougainville coast. That meeting should take place as soon as possible. The devastating effects of the ready availability of small arms have been felt for too many years in Bougainville; the damage that they can do to a society is now readily apparent in Papua New Guinea's neighbour, the Solomon Islands. To enhance future security for all Bougainvilleans, New Zealand urges the factions to agree that the final fate of the weapons contained should be no less than total destruction. UNPOB should strongly reinforce and encourage that approach.

New Zealand welcomes efforts to bring Francis Ona and his small group of followers into the peace process. However, I should stress, as I did when I last addressed the Council on this issue in March, that the peace process cannot wait for Mr. Ona. He has chosen to remain on the sidelines, and the process has progressed without him. If Mr. Ona wants to play a future role in the new Bougainville, the best way for him to do that is to engage in the peace process. But he should not be allowed to hold a veto over it; nor should his remaining outside of the process become a pretext for choosing a course other than the total destruction of weapons at stage III.

Like others, I should draw the Council's attention to the establishment of the Bougainville Transition Team, which was created to provide ongoing support to

the peace process following the departure of the Peace Monitoring Group (PMG) on 30 June. As Council members are aware, Team members from Australia, New Zealand and Vanuatu are now in place and are working well with the Bougainville community, and they will shortly be joined by personnel from Fiji. While much smaller than the PMG, the Transition Team demonstrates, as others have said, the ongoing commitment of regional States to the peace process. New Zealand's support for the Transition Team complements our ongoing commitment of other assistance to the people of Bougainville delivered through the New Zealand Agency for International Development.

The enduring support for the Bougainville peace process from States in the Pacific region has demonstrated our commitment to assisting neighbours in difficulty. The Pacific Island Forum-endorsed Regional Assistance Mission in the Solomon Islands is an extension of this approach, and New Zealand's commitment to assisting the Solomon Islands will be similarly long-term. Bougainville, for its part, is well on the road to lasting peace. The momentum now established by the declaration of the completion of stage II needs to be maintained while the United Nations Political Office works towards the completion of its mandate at the end of this year.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Motomura (Japan): First of all, I would like to thank both Ambassador Sinclair and Ambassador Aisi for having given us a comprehensive briefing on the current situation in Bougainville.

I would like to welcome the report submitted by the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) to the Government of Papua New Guinea on 29 July, which confirms the completion of stage II of the weapons disposal plan in Bougainville. The completion of stage II is indeed a demonstration of the commitment of the concerned parties to the attainment of peace, in particular on the part of the people of Bougainville and of the Papua New Guinea Government. This achievement is all the more important as it opens a new stage in the peace process and accelerates the progress towards the establishment of autonomy in Bougainville. We sincerely hope that this process will proceed smoothly, so that an election to establish an autonomous Bougainville Government may take place as soon as possible, hopefully some time next year. We also expect that UNPOB will make every effort to support this process as fully as possible until the conclusion of its mandate at the end of this year.

The Peace Monitoring Group (PMG), which completed its activities in June, played a major role in realizing the completion of stage II of the weapons disposal plan. Following its establishment in 1998, the Group also made a significant contribution by assisting in the conclusion of the Bougainville Peace Agreement, monitoring the peace and advancing the peace process. Japan expresses its great appreciation for the activities of the PMG and pays tribute to Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu, which participated in this operation. We hope that the Bougainville Transition Team, which has succeeded the PMG, will contribute actively to further promoting the peace process.

During the third Japan-Pacific Islands Forum summit meeting, hosted by my Government in Okinawa in May, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, Sir Michael Somare, the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, and other leaders participating in the meeting set enhanced security in the Pacific region as one of the priority policy targets in the document adopted by the leaders entitled the Okinawa Initiative. Discussions aimed at taking substantive action followed, based on that document, and a joint action plan was also formulated, which includes concrete measures to be taken in order to enhance security in the region. On the basis of that plan, my Government intends to support promotion of the collection of small arms and light weapons in Bougainville. In addition, we are now considering extending specific assistance to Bougainville in the areas of education, health, medical services and infrastructure for the purposes of improving education and human resources development, stabilizing the life of Bougainvilleans and strengthening their economy.

The Japanese Government continues to pay close attention to developments related to peace in Bougainville and reiterates its readiness to extend assistance that it deems appropriate.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I now give the floor to Mr. Noel Sinclair so that he may respond to

questions raised and provide the clarifications requested.

Mr. Sinclair: Before I respond to the questions raised by the representative of Spain and the representative of Bulgaria, I think it is my duty, first of all, to express my sincere gratitude to all speakers for the very kind and generous words addressed to the mission, to myself and to my staff for the work that we have done. We could not have accomplished what we accomplished there without the very positive and encouraging support that we have consistently received from the Security Council. And I should like to place on record our profound appreciation for the attitude that the Security Council has consistently maintained.

I should also like to express to the representatives of Papua New Guinea, Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Japan my sincere gratitude and appreciation for their very kind and generous words addressed to myself and to the staff of the mission. Once again, I wish to place on record the importance that we attach to the generous assistance that we have received from the Peace Monitoring Group as a collectivity as well as from its individual Governments, as well as from those of Japan and Papua New Guinea.

The Government of Spain asked about the consultations currently taking place between the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with regard to securing the smoothest possible transition for Bougainville. There are four points I should like to make in that connection.

At this time, Bougainville enjoys the international presence of UNPOB, the UNDP and the Bougainville Transition Team (BTT). At the end of December, UNPOB will have withdrawn and it is expected that the BTT will withdraw. That will mean a very significant change for the people of Bougainville. Bougainville will have been functioning with a significant international presence for the past six years, and suddenly, on 1 January 2004, that presence will be withdrawn. The UNDP will remain, and, with the withdrawal of UNPOB and the BTT, it will have a tremendous responsibility — an even greater responsibility than it has now.

What I have been trying to do is to get the UNDP accustomed to that fact: it will be alone in its task of fulfilling whatever expectations Bougainvilleans may have of the international presence on the island. UNDP has been there for a number of years, and, in the phase that will begin on 1 January 2004, it will be there to assume all the responsibilities that devolve upon it. UNDP has the advantage of continuity, and I have been trying to encourage it to begin to prepare for assuming those additional responsibilities resulting from the withdrawal of UNPOB and the BTT.

We have not forgotten that Bougainville is now emerging from a war, a very serious crisis that destroyed not only physical infrastructure but also social and intellectual infrastructure. One of the first challenges that the Bougainvilleans will be facing in their new autonomous Government will be that of capacity-building. I believe that UNDP, being present after we have withdrawn, will have a very important role to play in terms of assisting Bougainvilleans in developing their capacities.

There was an administration in Bougainville that was effectively destroyed, in the sense that many of the people who were working there left the island during the crisis and others were killed — the whole system of administration was destroyed. A very small group of people now working under the Administrator is responsible for causing Bougainville to function, and that is quite a huge challenge for the very small resource base that the island now has. I believe that, after the end of this year, UNDP will be in a unique position where it can help, through its technical and other expertise, in developing and strengthening Bougainville's technical capacity. There is a need to rebuild capacity in Bougainville.

Moreover, one of the first priorities of Bougainvilleans right now concerns the question of law and justice: the putting in place of a police force. The police force and the justice system that existed in Bougainville have been destroyed. And it is not simply a question of restoring the service that used to exist, because Bougainville's police force had become so much a part of the crisis — so much a part of the Bougainvillean experience — that Bougainvilleans would like something different now. They do not feel that the Bougainvillean force that existed before has any credibility on the island now, and they have their own conception of what the new police force should be. It must be different from what it was before; it must be a force that is not as easily identifiable with the national Government as the one that existed before the crisis. They also have their own conception that it must be a law-and-justice system — a police force system —

that also makes use of Bougainvillean traditions and the Bougainvillean cultural experience.

It is one thing for them to conceptualize that, but it is something else to put it into practice. That will require many financial and technical resources, and I believe that UNDP is well placed to provide the resources that Bougainvilleans will need. It is true that, where the question of putting a law-and-order system in place is concerned, the Bougainvilleans are receiving a great deal of assistance from Australia and New Zealand. But it is clear to us that, after the end of the year, when UNPOB and the BTT withdraw, there will be room for a great coordinating effort on the part of UNDP in terms of channelling and bringing together offers of development assistance by countries of the region, including Australia and New Zealand.

There is no shortage of offers to assist Bougainville. Indeed, we have just heard a statement by the representative of Japan indicating the readiness of his Government to make assistance available to it.

I think that we have to avoid a situation in which we have a number of offers going in parallel in Bougainville. I believe that it is important that there be good coordination among all of these aid offers, and that the agency that is best placed to play this coordinating role is the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). What we have been trying to do is to get the UNDP to think in terms of preparing itself to play such a coordinating role, so as to ensure that, as one era ends, a new era begins, and that the transition is as smooth as possible, without any gaps or holes that would prejudice the progress of the autonomous Government from the start.

During the past two years, we have also received offers of assistance from the United Kingdom and New Zealand intended specifically for community development in Bougainville. Unfortunately, that money is still lying unused, I say unfortunately because there is a great need for community development projects. I am trying to encourage the UNDP to put some criteria in place, so that such projects can begin to function immediately.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank Mr. Sinclair for his statement and for the clarifications he has provided us on the latest developments in Bougainville.

There are no other speakers on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4806

Security Council

Distr.: General
8 August 2003

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4806th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 8 August 2003, at 10.30 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4806th meeting, held in private on 8 August 2003, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991; International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994'.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, the President extended an invitation under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to Ms. Carla Del Ponte, Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991 and of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994.

"The members of the Council heard a statement by Prosecutor Del Ponte."

03-46198 (E) 080803

United Nations S/PV.4807

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4807th meeting

Wednesday, 13 August 2003, 10.15 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wehbe	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/1146 and Add.1)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-46521 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Welcome to the new Permanent Representatives of China and Guinea

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): Before turning to the item on our agenda, I should like to acknowledge and welcome the presence at the Council table of the new Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Wang Guangya, and the new Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Alpha Ibrahima Sow. On behalf of the Council, I should like to extend a warm welcome to Ambassador Wang and Ambassador Sow and to wish them every success. We look forward to cooperating with them in the Council's work.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/1146 and Add.1)

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2002/1146 and addendum 1, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/803, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1499 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.30 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4808

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4808th meeting

Thursday, 14 August 2003, 1.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wehbe	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-46748 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 1.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715)

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I welcome the presence of the Deputy Secretary-General at this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), document S/2003/715.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/812, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, Guinea, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against:

None.

Abstaining:

Syrian Arab Republic.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against and one abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1500 (2003).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to reaffirm our conviction that the success of the political and economic reconstruction of Iraq and, hence, its stability, require the United Nations to play a dynamic role in the post-conflict management of the country. The resolution that we have just adopted does not, and is not intended to, correspond with that goal. In particular, we would like a timetable to be established with regard to the sequence of the political transition — in keeping with one of the proposals of the Secretary-General — which should facilitate the stabilization of Iraq.

The resolution that has been adopted today does, however, meet certain specific needs that the Council has been identifying for some time — needs that were formulated by the Secretary-General himself in his July report. We note that in deciding to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, the Security Council is reinforcing United Nations activities in Iraq and the work of the Special Representative by giving them the necessary means to discharge their mandate. That is why France voted in favour of the resolution.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): The text that we have just adopted as Security Council resolution 1500 (2003) deals with two specific issues: the Governing Council of Iraq and the United Nations Assistance Mission for that country. In its expression of support for the Governing Council of Iraq, the resolution hastens the day when the people of Iraq will be in full command of their own affairs — a condition that they have not known for some three decades.

When the Governing Council representatives came to speak before the Security Council on 22 July, they took an important step in the process of reaching out to the international community to communicate their dreams and aspirations for the Iraqi people and, equally important, their plans to achieve those aspirations. Through the resolution that we have just adopted, the Security Council has made clear that we heard the Governing Council's message and that we will work with it as a broadly representative partner —

a partner with which the United Nations and the international community can engage so as to support it in its endeavours to build a better Iraq.

The resolution helps pave the way towards the peace, stability and democracy that the long-afflicted Iraqi people so richly deserve. It also sends a clear signal to those who oppose the political transformation under way in Iraq that they are out of step with world opinion. In this resolution we endorse again the vital role that the United Nations is playing in Iraq. The Secretary-General recommended the creation of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq to better enable the United Nations to fulfil its responsibility under resolution 1483 (2003); we fully support the Secretary-General's request.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): The text just adopted as Security Council resolution 1500 (2003) reflects the vital role of the United Nations in Iraq and creates the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). It also rightfully welcomes the establishment of the Governing Council of Iraq. We are all agreed that the goal is to create, as soon as possible, an internationally representative Government exercising the sovereignty of Iraq. That must be worked up with and by the Iraqi people. We want to make progress rapidly, but of course it will take some time to create the rights and opportunities which have so long been denied to the Iraqi population.

The United Kingdom is working with the coalition partners for an Iraq which can assume its rightful place in the international community and where the instruments of the international community can operate normally. That will entail a growing role for the United Nations and its agencies, and UNAMI will be an important catalyst for this.

Lastly, the United Kingdom welcomes the support given to this resolution, reflecting the Security Council coming together and its members increasingly converging to work for the shared objective of a stable, united and free Iraq.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Pakistan voted in favour of resolution 1500 (2003), on Iraq. It contains two important elements: first, acknowledgement of the Governing Council of Iraq and, secondly, the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI).

At every stage of the Council's deliberations on Iraq with regard to resolutions 1472 (2003), 1476 (2003) and especially 1483 (2003), Pakistan's position was guided by the interests of the Iraqi people. The resolution just adopted upholds the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. Pakistan, of course, would also wish to see the reaffirmation of other principles, such as: the right of the Iraqi people to choose their own political destiny and form of government and to exercise their right of self-determination; non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of Iraq; permanent sovereignty and control over the natural resources of Iraq; respect for the religious and cultural traditions of the people of Iraq and for the sanctity of holy places; and, finally, the right of the Iraqi nation to economic and social reconstruction. Those principles, indeed, are the framework within which the Security Council must take all decisions and actions relating to Iraq.

Pakistan has also advocated a central role for the United Nations in the restoration of peace and security in Iraq, the provision of humanitarian relief, Iraq's reconstruction and the restoration of its sovereignty and independence. The resolution affirms the vital role of the United Nations. Importantly, in paragraph 2, it decides to establish UNAMI to help the Secretary-General to fulfil his mandate, as set out in resolution 1483 (2003) and as envisaged in paragraph 98 of the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715).

We welcome the creation of UNAMI. Pakistan has no doubt that the tasks facing UNAMI will be challenging; it should receive the resources necessary for the purpose. We also have no doubt that the role of UNAMI will continue to grow and to become more important as the Iraqi people move towards recovering their full sovereignty and creating a fully representative Government.

The Secretary-General, in his report pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003), stated that the Governing Council "will provide a broadly representative Iraqi partner with whom the United Nations and the international community at large can engage" (*S/2003/715, para. 107*). The Government of Pakistan has also termed the establishment of the Governing Council as a welcome first step in the direction of returning governance and restoring sovereignty to the people of Iraq as soon as possible.

On 22 July, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, said that the Governing Council was "broadly representative of the various constituencies existing in Iraq" (*S/PV.4791, p. 8*) and that it would need the full support of the international community. He also stressed the need to prepare a clear timetable for the earliest possible restoration of Iraqi sovereignty. We are glad that the views of my Government on the Governing Council and the concept of an evolution towards a fully representative Government, as reflected in paragraph 1, have been approved.

At this stage, I should like to make one comment of a general nature. Everyone recognizes the value of consultations and consensus among the five permanent members of the Security Council. However, we believe that it is among the entire Council membership that the Council's decisions should be finally discussed and approved. We hope that, in future, we — as a non-permanent member — will have more time to consider draft resolutions, especially on issues as important as Iraq.

We believe that the people of Iraq face monumental challenges in the economic, social and political fields. We hope that the adoption of this resolution will enable the international community to accelerate Iraq's progress towards full normalization of conditions in the country. We look forward to the day when that great nation — which shares strong bonds of history, faith and culture with the people of Pakistan — will recover its former glory in the international community and emerge as a leading nation in the Islamic world.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Spain welcomes the adoption of this resolution, which we joined in sponsoring. Its text reflects the spirit of the Spanish draft presidential statement that my delegation was eager to approve in the final days of our presidency but that agenda-related reasons basically prevented.

The resolution is necessary, realistic and relevant. It secures the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and reaffirms the Organization's vital role in Iraq's reconstruction. Moreover, it hails the existence of the Governing Council as a first step towards what we all wish for: a sovereign, stable and democratic Iraq — ultimately, an Iraq that controls its own future in peace and prosperity.

Finally, I should like to indicate that I agree with the comments made by the representative of Pakistan concerning the desirability of extending Council discussions to all members as a general rule.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): Germany voted in favour of resolution 1500 (2003). We believe that this decision by the Council today marks an important step. Germany has always advocated a vital role for the United Nations in Iraq, and we welcomed the recent suggestions of the Secretary-General in that regard as being of the utmost importance for the necessary implementation of resolution 1483 (2003).

The decision of the Council to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), with the responsibilities set out in the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715), definitely reaffirms that indispensable, vital role and is therefore a significant step in the right direction. Moreover, that decision creates a direct responsibility of UNAMI to the Council and allows the Secretary-General to furnish the United Nations efforts with the necessary financial means.

We also agree with the Secretary-General that the establishment of the Governing Council has to be welcomed as an important first step in the development towards an internationally recognized representative government in order to create momentum in the political process.

Resolution 1500 (2003) deserves merit for having implemented those requests of the Secretary-General as such without unnecessarily politicizing the matter. In that respect, the adoption of this resolution will contribute to finding a common way forward which will lead to the full sovereignty of Iraq. Irrespective of the fact that the resolution is certainly not the one about which the media has speculated in the last few days — a revision of resolution 1483 (2003) — it marks, from our point of view, the beginning of a process that should lead to a more even balance of responsibilities among the United Nations, the international community and the Coalition Provisional Authority in the common effort to rebuild Iraq economically and with respect for democratic values and the rule of law.

Without in any way diminishing the substance of this important resolution, I would like to conclude by saying that we would have appreciated, if not expected, a more transparent and comprehensive consultation

process among all members of the Council, with a view, inter alia, to giving more members of the Council an opportunity to consider sponsorship.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mexico voted in favour of resolution 1500 (2003), convinced of the fundamental and decisive role that the United Nations should play in the process of rebuilding Iraq and in the efforts of Iraqis to recover full sovereignty.

My country considers this resolution to be a necessary technical step to enable the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to carry out fully the tasks entrusted to them by the Security Council through the provisions of the relevant Council resolutions, in particular resolution 1483 (2003), which clearly states that it is the responsibility of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to coordinate the post-conflict activities of the United Nations, to coordinate among United Nations and international agencies engaged in humanitarian assistance and reconstruction activities and to assist the people of Iraq. The resolution further stipulates that those activities must be carried out in full and absolute independence.

In that context, the Secretary-General, in the report (S/2003/715) on the activities of his Special Representative for Iraq, which he submitted in fulfilment of his mandate, gave a detailed account of the tasks that he considers the United Nations should carry out in order to make a positive contribution to Iraq's recovery of its sovereignty and to the reconstruction of the country, including the establishment of a critical road map and concrete timetable for establishing a fully representative government that can exercise the sovereignty of the Iraqi people.

In that context, the creation of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, which is provided for in the resolution that the Council has just adopted, is a vital step towards fulfilling those tasks. That Mission enables the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to have an effective presence in Iraq so that their tasks can be carried out independently, forcefully and capably.

We voted in favour of this resolution because it is our concern that there should be a United Nations presence in Iraq. It is our concern that the United Nations should play a decisive role in that country's development. It is our concern that the United Nations should support the Iraqi people by establishing an independent and sovereign government. It is our concern that the United Nations should fulfil its humanitarian duties, employing its capacities in that area. It is our concern that the United Nations should have the institutional capacity to provide for, defend and promote human rights and to create a space for the participation of international humanitarian agencies in carrying out those objectives. Finally, it is our concern that, as indicated by the Secretary-General, the United Nations should actively participate in Iraq's full recovery of its sovereignty, and in the termination of the military occupation. In that context, we associate ourselves with the Security Council consensus on welcoming the establishment of the provisional Governing Council as a first logical step towards establishing a genuinely representative government that exercises the sovereignty of the Iraqi people. That welcome does not constitute legal recognition. Nor should it be interpreted as endorsement. It is not, because the Governing Council is still under the authority of the occupying Powers.

Lastly, the independence of the United Nations in Iraq means that the international community has entrusted it with tasks that are distinct from the obligations of the occupying Powers established as an Authority. The Authority formed by the occupying Powers bears the responsibility for ensuring the safety and security of the population in the occupied territory. That obligation stems from the Fourth Geneva Convention and is in no way affected by the present resolution.

Like other members of the Council, my country has already conveyed to the sponsors of this resolution our view that it should be through the search for consensus among the 15 members, through the broad discussion of all initiatives, that we can arrive at broader and more consolidated agreement in the decisions of the Security Council. That is why we hope that procedures will be respected in future initiatives, so that all members of the Council will participate in all stages of discussion and adoption of a resolution.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian Federation has consistently advocated that the United Nations should play an enhanced role in the political settlement of the situation in Iraq. We are convinced that the resolution of the complex problems facing that country can be achieved

only through the consistent efforts of the entire international community, with the United Nations and the Security Council playing a decisive role.

It is necessary to fully restore the sovereignty of Iraq as soon as possible and give to the Iraqi people the right to independently manage the resources of their country. Conditions should be created to ensure that the Iraqi people are able to choose a legitimate and internationally recognized Government that can help resolve the crisis in the country.

From the outset, Russia has supported a Council decision on establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. The resolution adopted today, with our active participation, fully reflects Russia's position supporting the Secretary-General's recommendations to deploy a full-fledged United Nations mission to play an important role in resolving the crisis and rebuilding Iraq. The resolution is in keeping with Russia's approach to the creation of the temporary Governing Council in Iraq, which is an important first step towards establishing an internationally recognized Government and restoring State sovereignty.

We hope that this Council decision, in addition to its resolution 1483 (2003), will give added impetus to increasing the real participation of the United Nations in the Iraqi post-war process, leading to the solid settlement of the Iraqi problem in keeping with international law.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation welcomes the resolution on Iraq just adopted by the Security Council. China has always attached great importance to the post-war reconstruction of Iraq. We have always maintained that the United Nations should play an active and effective role in the reconstruction process.

One month ago the Secretary-General recommended the creation of a United Nations assistance mission for Iraq. We believe that very important recommendation will help strengthen the role of the United Nations in Iraq's reconstruction. China supports the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq as soon as possible.

China welcomes the establishment of the Governing Council of Iraq. We believe that it is an important step towards Iraqi self-government. We also look forward to the early and full restoration of Iraqi sovereignty.

In the light of the above-mentioned considerations, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): As the representative of China was the last speaker on the list, I will make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, which is an explanation of Syria's position on resolution 1500 (2003).

The Syrian Arab Republic abstained in the vote on the resolution just adopted by the Council. We did so to reflect the Arab position endorsed by the Foreign Ministers of Arab States members of the Arab follow-up committee that met in Cairo on 5 August 2003 on the question of fraternal Iraq, and in keeping with Syria's responsibility as the Arab representative on the Security Council. Syria and all Arab States support the need to end the occupation of Iraq and to form a legitimate national Iraqi Government, as soon as possible and within a clear and specific time frame, based on equal rights and justice for all Iraqi citizens and free of ethnic, gender or religious discrimination, so that the world will be able to deal with a legitimate Iraqi Government.

Today Syria reiterates to the Council its support for the position adopted by the Foreign Ministers of Arab States members of the follow-up committee, who stressed that the formation of the interim Governing Council of Iraq is a beginning that will gain credibility from the fact that it is paving the way for the formation of a national Government that represents the full spectrum of Iraqi society and is capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the Iraqi people. Hence, only the Iraqi people can lend legitimacy to the Governing Council.

Syria reaffirms its commitment to support the central role of the United Nations in Iraq, be it terms of the political process or reconstruction. We also support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Iraq.

We regret that the sponsors of the draft resolution did not take into account a number of important recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report in document S/2003/715, of 17 July 2003, which were widely supported by members of the Council. We deeply regret that the consultation exercise, which was conducted outside of Security Council Chamber in a format that lacked transparency, did not include the input of rotating members of the Council, including

Syria, in the substantive part of the draft resolution. That resulted in the sponsors maintaining the text and not accepting proposals for logical amendments, which narrowed the options available to us and made the text available to us on a "take it or leave it basis".

Syria hopes that in future discussions and resolutions pertaining to Iraq, the Security Council will comprehensively address all aspects constituting the genuine concerns of the brotherly people of Iraq. We also hope that the Council will work to bring about a resolution of all such concerns in order to ensure the end of occupation and to enable the people of Iraq to restore national sovereignty over their territory and, as soon as possible, to establish an elected national Government that enjoys the support of the Iraqi people and is recognized by the international community.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 2.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4809

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4809th meeting

Monday, 18 August 2003, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wehbe	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

Letter dated 14 August 2003 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Serbia and Montenegro to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/815)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-46798 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

Letter dated 14 August 2003 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Serbia and Montenegro to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/815)

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Serbia and Montenegro, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Mr. Nebojsa Covic, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia and President of the Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Covic (Serbia and Montenegro) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 14 August 2003 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Serbia and Montenegro to the United Nations, document S/2003/815.

I now give the floor to Mr. Nebojsa Covic, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia and President of the Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija.

Mr. Covic (Serbia and Montenegro) (*spoke in Serbian; interpretation provided by the delegation*): I would like to thank the Security Council for responding positively to our initiative and for convening today's Council meeting on Kosovo and Metohija.

We are gathered here today because of the hideous murder and wounding of innocent children swimming in a river near their homes in Kosovo and Metohija. The dead were killed only because they were Serbs, and in order to send a message to all Serbs now living in Kosovo and Metohija that they must leave and that there is no chance for reconciliation and the sort of multi-ethnic society that Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and all of us foresee.

That massacre is by no means unique. Since peacekeepers arrived in Kosovo and Metohija following the bombing campaign of 1999, there have been 6,013 attacks against Serbs and their cultural heritage and property. One thousand and twenty-one Serbs have been killed in those attacks. Fifty-two sacred Christian relics have been destroyed in those attacks, including 10 monasteries and churches dating from the fourteenth century. Fifty-five other Orthodox pl: es of worship have been damaged or desecrated.

We in Serbia are determined to cooperate with the international community, not only in Kosovo and Metohija but also in the region as a whole. In southern Serbia, for example, we have jointly build a model of pacification and reconciliation. From the time I was entrusted with the post of President of the Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija, we have tried hard to cooperate with the international community and these institutions in the province, in a spirit of partnership and mutual confidence.

Through the most recent escalation of terrorism — the wounding and murder of children — in addition to the daily intimidation and persecution of the remaining Serbs in the province, Albanian extremists and terrorists are sending a message to the new Special Representative of the Secretary- General: every single decision he makes that does not meet their expectations will result in fresh violence and in the destabilization of the situation in Kosovo and Metohija.

Nevertheless, this brutal murder cannot but make us all wonder whether this massive effort by the international community will work, and if it can work. Are the forces of evil and of nationalism just too strong to be overcome? I appreciate the appointment by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of a special prosecutor to bring the perpetrators to justice. We will do all we can to help him. At the same time,

we all must accept that crimes such as this one are not unique. They are part of a pattern of activity by a determined minority of the Albanian population, which seeks to drive all Serbs out from Kosovo and Metohija, and, of course, discourage any refugees and internally displaced persons from returning, in order to bring the ethnic cleansing of the province to completion.

Is this an overstatement? I do not think so. Albanians who fled Kosovo and Metohija before Milosevic's regime returned to their homes in Kosovo and Metohija in a flash, rescued and assisted by the international community. The whole process was completed in just a few days. Serbs who fled Kosovo and Metohija have been advised not to return in groups but individually, due to reasons of security — or, to be more accurate — reasons of insecurity. At its current pace, the process of the return of Serbs and other non-Albanians to the province will take over 100 years.

Albanians, who suffered terribly under Milosevic's regime and who could be our key interlocutors, are watching in silence the brutal retaliations being carried out by their extremists compatriots.

I strongly believe that not all Albanians approve of this brutality and savageness. I base this belief on the tragic fate of those Albanian leaders who paid with their own lives for their disapproval of such crimes. It is therefore clear to me why the majority of Albanians have remained silent and why only a few Albanians, mainly politicians, have faint-heartedly condemned these crimes, while at the same time recalling Serbian crimes of the past.

UNMIK and KFOR have not done as much as they could have under these distorted circumstances. I am trying to understand the inertia of the representatives of the international community. I can understand it, but I cannot forgive it.

An UNMIK police officer was recently assassinated, and numerous brutal attacks have been carried out targeting international peacekeepers. If one reads carefully between the lines, one can discern that the following message is being sent to the officers of the international mission: "Think hard before you do anything. We are watching you. Any of you can be killed." Thus the staff of the United Nations Mission and all officers and personnel that are part of the international troops in Kosovo and Metohija have become hostages of Albanian extremism and terrorism.

This disturbing outcome might have been avoided had the international community, immediately upon termination of the armed conflict in Kosovo and Metohija and of the bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, applied the same standards in condemning Serbian and Albanian crimes. So far, with a single exception, only Serb perpetrators have been brought before the judges of The Hague Tribunal. Albanian assassins have thus been silently amnestied and become untouchable; they have been made into national heroes.

I believe that it is high time for the international community to look back and to evaluate the results of its own actions. We all must recognize, without any prejudice or fear, that the actions of Albanian extremist and terrorist groups represent the main threat to the stabilization of Kosovo and Metohija and to the region as a whole.

Is the international community committed to justice and fairness at any cost? Is it truly determined to succeed in Kosovo and Metohija?

The United Nations Mission, headed by Mr. Harri Holkeri, must now either accomplish what his predecessors have failed to achieve or acknowledge its defeat. In this difficult endeavour, Mr. Holkeri can count on our full support and assistance.

If we want to succeed, we must take vigorous and decisive measures that will lead to the fulfilment of the agreed objectives: the full and consistent implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), major progress in the return of internally displaced persons, and security and freedom of movement for all ethnic communities.

Despite the commitment shown thus far by Belgrade and the Government of the Republic of Serbia with regard to the establishment of a functional multi-ethnic society in Kosovo and Metohija, we are legitimately concerned that Albanian extremists and terrorists will use all available means to prevent the fulfilment of these endeavours. Serbia has carried out all of the measures to which it has committed itself in order to bring the process of stabilization in Kosovo and Metohija to completion.

The following urgent steps need to be taken to normalize the situation in Kosovo and Metohija.

First, the international Mission must send a clear message regarding its key objectives by implementing

fully resolution 1244 (1999) and by building a multi-ethnic and tolerant community with a solid economic foundation and functioning provisional democratic institutions.

Second, the international Mission has to ensure that the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) is equitable vis-à-vis all parties and all ethnic groups, and that it does not favour one party or one ethnic group to the detriment of another.

Third, the international security forces, if they are not expanded, must at least be kept at the current level. For purposes of prevention, their presence must have greater visibility and be better targeted. They must be reorganized in order more effectively to address the problem of Albanian terrorist groups that are supported by organized crime.

Fourth, KFOR and UNMIK must ensure, from the side of the province, the full protection of the administrative line between central Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija, in full cooperation with the army and police of Serbia and Montenegro.

Fifth, international law enforcement officials must take the lead and be more efficient in investigating ethnically motivated crimes and in bringing their perpetrators to justice.

Sixth, UNMIK and KFOR should provide for the full protection of witnesses, so that they can testify in court against persons indicted for criminal acts and in connection with organized crime. Citizens must be encouraged to testify against criminals without fear or ethnic bias.

Seventh, the thorough and energetic disarmament of all citizens of Kosovo and Metohija must be carried out.

Eighth, it is necessary to ensure that all countries take the same approach to the Albanian National Army (ANA), an organization which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has proclaimed to be a terrorist organization. The ANA is variously defined as a liberation organization and as a terrorist organization. This could be very dangerous. It must be placed on the list of terrorist organizations, and international standards in the fight against terrorism must fully be applied to it.

Ninth, in the light of the crimes committed by individual members of the Kosovo Protection Corps, a thorough investigation must be carried out, leading to its abolishment. Time and again, its key members are implicated in crimes such as the bombing of the railroad bridge near Zvecan and assisting armed insurrection in Macedonia. Their very existence shows a certain hypocrisy: sorrow for the death of innocent Serbs, but unwillingness to tackle some of the root causes of the crimes. So long as that organization exists, true reconciliation will not be possible.

Tenth, perpetrators of war crimes must be indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and extradited to the Hague, regardless of their present positions.

Eleventh, in tackling security challenges in the province, such as organized crime, terrorism and so on, the security forces in Kosovo and Metohija must cooperate more closely with the security forces in the region, and with the security forces of Serbia and Montenegro in particular.

Twelfth, Albanian political leaders must be urged to implement their formal support for returns, the democratization of society, the rule of law and inter-ethnic reconciliation by providing all necessary assistance to all citizens in Kosovo and Metohija, regardless of their ethnicity.

Thirteenth, adequate measures must be taken against all officials of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government — regardless of their ethnicity — who do not provide full and public support for the aforementioned measures.

And, fourteenth, officials of the international presence in Kosovo and Metohija who refrain from carrying out the aforementioned measures in the fight against inter-ethnic violence, terrorism and organized crime must be held liable for their actions and be adequately reprimanded.

For all the proposed measures and standards, it is necessary to develop a clear plan of set and measurable tasks and responsibilities, specifying those in charge of their implementation. Similarly, it is necessary to set precise time frames, follow through on their realization and objectively assess the results accomplished.

If the international community fails to eradicate the instability in a powerful and surgical manner and if the measures it undertakes are weak and insignificant, it will be responsible before history for a resurrection of fascism in one part of Europe and the creation of a

monstrous mono-ethnic Albanian para-State in the territory that is legally recognized as part of Serbia — that is, Serbia and Montenegro — by United Nations documents. That would be to validate an act of violence by means of an act of violence.

Let me bring this statement to closure by admitting that hope in me has not died. Otherwise, I certainly would have taken the floor today as the former President of the Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija. I profoundly regret that my hope cannot bring the children assassinated in Gorazdevac to life, nor can it comfort the crippled ones. However, there is one thing it can certainly do: it can keep the door of dialogue open for a bit longer.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I want to thank Deputy Prime Minister Covic for travelling to New York to address the Council. It was good to see him here again. I wish it were under better circumstances.

My authorities have condemned in the strongest terms the attack on and the murder of the young Kosovars on 13 August. It was a horrible crime. Our spokesman called it an atrocity. We would like to extend our deepest condolences to the families. We welcome the fact that the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) responded quickly and has launched an investigation into the crime. That investigation is going on now, and we should not draw conclusions about who is responsible until it is complete and until those who are responsible have been brought to justice.

We also note the statements of Kosovo Albanian leaders, including President Rugova and Prime Minister Rexhepi, deploring the criminal events. We also note and welcome statements by leaders of Serbia and Montenegro calling for a responsible reaction to the events, such as the statement made by Defence Minister Tadic, that Serbia and Montenegro will address all problems in a rational way and will remain committed to the peace process.

What we need to see is resolve and commitment to pursuing that process. Those violent acts, which should be punished, are damaging to the future of all Kosovars, and the perpetrators must be brought to justice. We are confident that UNMIK will do everything possible to see that is done.

However, the best homage that we can pay the victims of that violence is to redouble efforts to create the conditions for a multi-ethnic Kosovo and for the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). That is an effort in which the new Special Representative, Mr. Holkeri, is now fully engaged, and in which he has my Government's very firm and determined support.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): We deeply deplore and condemn the ruthless killing of children in Kosovo on 13 August. We extend our sincere condolences to the families. The perpetrators of the attack have not yet been identified. Independent of their background, this is another attack in a progression of violent incidents that have taken place in Kosovo over the past weeks. We have seen attacks against institutions, public buildings and vehicles. We have seen revenge for the sentences against four former members of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). And now we are faced with an attack against children. The police officer of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) who was shot in the northern part of Kosovo two weeks ago and the Kosovo Serb children seem to have been targeted deliberately. Today, Kosovo Albanians were attacked when passing through a Serbian village near Pristina. While many of those attacks might have individual motives, together they result in creating an atmosphere of lawlessness and of intimidation. They poison the relations between the ethnic groups and can damage relations with the international presence in Kosovo.

If the perpetrators' aim is to obstruct reconciliation, refugee returns or the envisaged direct dialogue or if they believe they can force the international community into a premature status discussion, they must know that this is totally unacceptable and that they will not succeed.

We welcome the statements by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government in Kosovo condemning the violence and urge all their representatives to exert their influence on public opinion and to speak out for the acceptance of the rule of law. No one is above the law. UNMIK, the Kosovo Force and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia will ensure that the perpetrators who committed the attacks and murders of the past weeks, as well as those who committed crimes during the time of armed conflict, will be brought to just.

Concerning the future status of Kosovo, the parties have to understand that no unilateral act can change the status of Kosovo as laid down in Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). The fact that for the time being there is no common ground between the parties on the future status of Kosovo is one more reason why the international community must insist on the policy of standards before status. There can be no debate of the status issue before the benchmarks are met.

One of the benchmarks is the initiation of a direct dialogue between Pristina and Belgrade on practical matters of common concern. This must not be confused with the dialogue on the status question. This direct dialogue must start immediately. The present security situation, as well as the current internal debate about the new Serbian Constitution, should not be taken as a pretext by Kosovar politicians to escape from their responsibility for a peaceful and stable Kosovo. We urge them to concentrate on the next steps.

I would like to conclude by expressing my Government's full support for the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Harri Holkeri, in the challenges that lie ahead.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank you, Sir, for having convened this meeting of the Security Council, which offers us the opportunity to speak our minds about the atrocious acts recently committed in Kosovo.

I should also like to welcome the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Mr. Covic. I only regret that his reason for coming here was the assassination of two teenagers and the serious injury of four others. Bulgaria categorically condemns the heinous acts of 13 August in the village of Gorazdevac, near Pec. I take this opportunity to convey the condolences of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people to the bereaved families, particularly those of Ivan Jovovic and Pantelija Dakic.

This horrendous act, following the murder of a police officer of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) barely more than a week earlier, clearly seeks to undermine the efforts of all international and local actors to enable Kosovars to return to their normal lives. Bulgaria believes that the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo should not only categorically condemn the violence, but also help the local police and UNMIK to identify as quickly as possible the perpetrators of these crimes and assist the organs of justice in their work. The cooperation of the Kosovo Provisional Institutions is, we believe, a true test of their ability to shoulder greater responsibility in managing the region and in the transfer of authority.

Bulgaria has followed with growing concern such acts of inter-ethnic violence and intolerance, which merely further delay reconciliation among the Kosovar communities and the return of refugees to their home towns. It is very important that the international community, and UNMIK in particular, clearly inform all of the local political forces and the inhabitants of Kosovo, irrespective of their ethnic origin or their place in society, that such acts are absolutely intolerable to the international community.

Bulgaria also condemns the destruction of religious monuments referred to earlier by Deputy Prime Minister Covic. We believe that the destruction of Orthodox churches and monasteries is totally unacceptable. The point has been made in the past that these acts must stop. We hope that UNMIK will be able to take the steps necessary to deter those who commit them.

We also believe that such acts of inter-ethnic violence in Kosovo do nothing to improve the positions of the various parties to the impending negotiations between Belgrade and Pristina. They can only impede the process. This is yet another reason why we hope that such acts will cease immediately.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the concerns I have just formulated are shared not only by Bulgaria in its capacity as a member of the Security Council, but also by all of the countries of South-East Europe. We are duty-bound to state this on behalf of all the inhabitants of South-East Europe, who will never accept inter-ethnic violence.

I should also like to offer my best wishes to the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Harri Holkeri. He has the experience and the background necessary to confront the daunting challenges he faces in Kosovo and we assure him of our full support.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Like other speakers, I would like to welcome the participation in this debate of Deputy Prime Minister Covic of the Republic of Serbia. We have heard his statement with great interest.

I would also wish to add my voice to express the profound sadness of the Government and people of Pakistan at the recent brutal murders in Gorazdevac. As it has done in the past, Pakistan unreservedly and unequivocally condemns all ethnically motivated crimes in Kosovo. We have consistently called for an end to impunity and we will continue to urge that all those who have committed such crimes in Kosovo over the past four years be brought to justice.

The establishment of the rule of law and security is the most essential element in almost all post-conflict transitional administration situations. Kosovo is no exception in this regard. We have repeatedly stated that, without security, there can be no freedom of movement, no protection of minorities, no sustainable return of refugees and no economic recovery. The rule of law is essential to progress towards justice, reconciliation and self-governance. These are the essential pillars on which the success of the Provisional Institutions and the future political stability of Kosovo depend. We hope that the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), under the new and able leadership of Mr. Holkeri, will give these issues the highest priority.

We believe that something must be done urgently to put an end to such ethnically motivated crimes as have happened recently. Pakistan is fully committed to do all it can to assist UNMIK efforts in that regard. We have committed over 100 police personnel to UNMIK, including a special police unit. Our Minister for the Interior visited Kosovo last week and reiterated Pakistan's resolve and commitment to the maintenance of peace and security in Kosovo. We stand by that commitment.

It should be recalled that in Kosovo, a province of 2 million people, there is a protection force of 17,000 troops led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in addition to the presence of over 4,000 UNMIK police personnel deployed there.

I believe that the Security Council, in considering such emergency situations, must make an overall cost-benefit analysis of where and how forces should be deployed. Let us not forget that the Council waited for weeks to be able to deploy a few thousand forces in Liberia, where hundreds of people were dying every day. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo we waited three years to be able to deploy 10,800 troops. And the most classic example is that in Jammu and Kashmir, an area populated by 10 million people, only 45 United Nations observers were able to be deployed to contain the situation in what has been recently called the most dangerous place on earth.

My delegation is of the view that the brutal murders that took place in Gorazdevac should be a wake-up call. Our assessment is that, although this is one in a series of incidents, it is indicative of the fact that the underlying political issues relating to Kosovo remain to be resolutely addressed and resolved. Of course, the slogan "standards before status" sounds good, and we hope that it will be fulfilled. But all the parties concerned bear a responsibility to reach an agreement and to resolve their differences in Kosovo. Nationalist rhetoric — on all sides — does not help. Hate must be discarded as a political currency in Kosovo, as elsewhere.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): We welcome the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia. His trip here is a reminder of the extraordinary gravity of the act about which the Council is meeting. I wish to express to him my delegation's condolences.

The murder of the Kosovar children is a horrible, despicable and almost unimaginable crime. A terrorist act of this kind — because that is what it is, a horrendous terrorist act — is completely unjustifiable. It is totally condemnable, and the international community must, and does, consider it as such. Its perpetrators must be brought to justice to answer for this terrible act. The international community demands it.

Some years ago, the international community entered the area to stop what was considered ethnic cleansing. Today it would be incomprehensible and totally unjust if it were to remain idle, judging that what is now at issue are isolated acts that should not be exaggerated. Those "isolated acts" are links in a policy of harassment, intimidation and unspeakable violence against a particular community. Those not-so-isolated acts can — and in this case do — constitute terrorism. As we have said, terrorism has no justification or colour. Terrorism is terrorism.

I hope and wish that the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo will successfully carry out its inquiries and that those responsible will be brought to justice. I also trust that the political leaders will be able to maintain calm and will sincerely seek to achieve the objectives of resolution 1284 (1999): a

tolerant multi-ethnic community in which dialogue and democracy are the rule, not the exception.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): It is very good to have Mr. Covic with us today. I would like to pay tribute initially to the work he has done in southern Serbia and in working with Kosovo in the past.

I think that we have to recognize that a series of violent incidents have been occurring over the past month and longer. We must condemn the attack at Gorazdevac, the killing of the Serb fisherman on 11 August and, indeed, all the acts of violence and extremism. Every effort must be made to track down and bring to justice those responsible.

The United Kingdom, too, would like to offer its condolences to the families of those who have died.

We are very glad that the new Special Representative, Mr. Holkeri, has taken up the initiative to set up an inquiry, and we wish him every success as he takes on his mission.

I welcome the prompt action by the Kosovo Force (KFOR), which deployed 300 men as a strengthened and visible presence. It is vital that all Kosovo citizens should be able to feel safe and secure. Minority communities need and are entitled to credible, guaranteed and full protection.

Having listened to Mr. Covic, I would, however, like to reject any sense of inertia by the international community. I think that charge is unfounded and unfair. We welcome the condemnation of the attacks by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government, the Kosovo Assembly and the President. Although trust between the two communities is at a particularly low level, isolated acts of extremism must not be allowed to polarize Kosovo society any further. We welcome the statement of the Serbian Prime Minister, Mr. Zivkovic, encouraging Kosovo Serbs to stay in Kosovo. But the rash of inter-ethnic incidents shows only too clearly the potential for localized violence to spread. So we urge all parties to show restraint. The extremists must be defeated and cannot be allowed to undermine Kosovo's future.

We support the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in its clamp down on terrorist activity in Kosovo. The United Kingdom supports the reform and the development of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) as a civilian emergency organization. We are clear too that further action will and should be taken against any members of the KPC who are involved in terrorism. But the United Kingdom does not share the view that the time has come to wrap up the KPC, because it fulfils a useful function.

Let us be clear that the attack on terrorism and extremism is without favour. The United Kingdom has always emphasized that the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) must prosecute those responsible for serious crimes, without discrimination, and must bring to justice all those involved.

I share with Mr. Covic the wish that we should all bring perpetrators of war crimes indicted by ICTY and ensure their extradition to The Hague. That applies equally to those indicted who may happen to be living in Serbia today.

The Thessaloniki Summit announced the Belgrade-Pristina dialogue on technical issues, and it is important for that dialogue to continue. But let us face it: that dialogue is not helped by a background, a barrage of positions on Kosovo, with rounds of accusation and counter-accusation between Belgrade and Pristina. Public pre-positioning of this sort is only likely to fuel violence. Those in responsible positions must ensure that their rhetoric matches the gravity of the situation.

The discussions now envisaged between Belgrade and Pristina are not to be confused with the final status negotiations set out in resolution 1244 (1999). Like Germany, the United Kingdom strongly supports "standards before status". While we welcome what is being achieved on standards, we must all acknowledge how much still needs to be done. Our goal is a stable, peaceful and multi-ethnic Kosovo that will reduce its dependence upon the international community while moving towards prosperity.

The international community has made clear its rejection of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The conflict in Kosovo in 1999 was not intended to produce a mono-ethnic Kosovo. The goals for Kosovo are the same as the goals for the countries of the region. Normal European democratic standards must prevail. The road to Europe cannot be built on terrorism and extremism.

Mr. Covic asked — rhetorically, I hope — whether the international community was committed to

justice and determined to succeed in Kosovo. The answer is self-evident. The commitment today, which has already been alluded to by the Pakistani Ambassador, in terms of the number of KFOR troops, the involvement of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the part played by the European Union — all these reflect a determination within the United Nations umbrella to produce the outcome we seek.

Progress in Kosovo, in Serbia and Montenegro and in the region will be driven by Europeanization and must advance Europeanization. There can be no violent or unilateral attempts to dictate final status. At this stage, the parties should be prepared to tackle technical issues in a constructive, flexible manner, showing a willingness to listen and to argue in a rational manner. This is now key, particularly given the escalated tension. We must engender goodwill, show good faith and be transparent. That entails, in part, concrete, credible and guaranteed full protection, in law and in practice, for minority communities.

The right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes must be accepted in theory and in practice. Political norms and human rights must be developed in Kosovo on a par with the best European standards. In the view of the United Kingdom, only then can Kosovo move forward in a stable, peaceful manner, developing coexistence on its territory and better relations with its neighbours.

Mr. Lucas (Angola): Mr. President, I thank you on behalf of the Angolan delegation for convening this meeting on the situation in Kosovo. We welcome the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia to this meeting of the Security Council, and we took good note of the programme of action that he formulated in his statement.

My delegation continues to follow closely the developments in Kosovo, and on various occasions in Security Council meetings we have expressed our comprehensive views on the situation.

In today's meeting we would like to emphasize the following. We join previous speakers in expressing our great concern for the recent security incidents in Kosovo. My delegation strongly condemns the recent killing and wounding of young Kosovo Serbs — a stupid and gratuitous crime. The perpetrators must be brought, as soon as possible, to the dock. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims. My delegation views those horrific crimes as a serious setback for the United Nations efforts to foster multi-ethnicity in Kosovo and create conditions for the return and re-integration of the Kosovo Serb minority.

We welcome the meaningful progress achieved by the political process in Kosovo and the progress at the institutional level towards the goals set in Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional Framework. However, the progress made at the institutional and political levels is not matched by similar progress in the security situation and inter-ethnic relations, which remain matters of great concern.

We recognize the need to deploy continued efforts to improve the security situation, particularly through the strengthening of the Kosovo police and law enforcement institutions. We also recognize the need for a determined fight against sectarian extremists and terrorist elements and against transnational organized crime, lively scourges of the region whose existence is a serious threat to the entire process of rebuilding Kosovo. We support the work of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and insist on the necessity of a constructive dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina that should be further expanded to political issues in order to achieve concrete results.

My delegation urges the leaders of Kosovo to show renewed commitment to the peace process and the objectives set by the international community for Kosovo. We reiterate that the policy of "standards before status" remains a consistent strategy in framing the objective of establishing a multi-ethnic and democratic society in Kosovo, an endeavour that requires permanent dialogue, patience and determination.

To conclude, we would like to extend our support to the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kosovo, Mr. Harri Holkeri. We wish him all success in such a difficult but noble task.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation also would like to welcome the Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Mr. Covic. I would like to thank him for the views and considerations he has conveyed to the Security Council about the most recent events in Kosovo.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to extend our support to the work being done by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to try to find and bring to justice the perpetrators of the attack of 13 August against a group of young Serbs near the village of Gorazdevac. We trust their efforts will be successful.

We strongly condemn that crime, which took the life of one young person and wounded four others. In addition, it was an attack on the very future of Kosovo and against the very principle of building a multi-ethnic society in which there is respect for the rule of law. I convey my condolences and those of my Government to the bereaved families who are suffering from these abhorrent crimes. My delegation regards those events as part of a series of incidents that includes the attack also carried out on 13 August against a Kosovar Albanian woman, as well as later incidents that clearly signal a trend that must be stopped.

My delegation would also like to condemn the killing of Major Satish Menon, a civilian police member of UNMIK, on 3 August. We wish to convey our deepest condolences to his family and to the Government of India.

The fabric of Kosovar society is still very fragile and susceptible to provocation and a chain of reprisals and counter-reprisals. We believe that the international community must pay special attention and exert the necessary influence on all spheres of authority involved so that the political leaders of both Serbia and Montenegro and the province of Kosovo make a serious and resolute effort to contribute to the establishment of an understanding that would send a very clear message to the inhabitants of Kosovo that they must reject all forms of violence, in particular ethnic violence. The rejection of violence must then lead to building a truly multi-ethnic society in which everyone can live together.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Kosovo, Mr. Harri Holkeri, described as a tragedy for Kosovo the fact that violence is still claiming innocent lives four years after the end of the conflict. He also stated that the fact that violence is continuing is serving to strengthen his resolve to establish the rule of law in Kosovo to benefit all of Kosovo's inhabitants. We are pleased that that is the intention of the Special Representative, who has just gone to Kosovo to take up his duties. Mexico supports the work he is doing. We also agree with his assessment that establishing the rule of law also includes combating organized crime and terrorist and extremist activities, strengthening democratic and multi-ethnic institutions, promoting dialogue and inter-communal integration and fostering economic development, education and culture. Those activities should continue to be priorities carried out and promoted by the Mission. My delegation also believes that that work should be carried out in accordance with resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional Framework.

However, we would like to emphasize that the primary responsibility for breathing life into the process of normalizing Kosovo rests with Kosovars themselves, both the Albanian majority and the minorities. Their political representatives and community leaders should actively promote the hopes of the people of Kosovo for a multi-ethnic society. The ongoing political activism of local leaders is required to establish the rule of law and to combat extremism and violence. Those leaders must also be firmly committed to strengthening democratic and multi-ethnic institutions, reconciliation and inter-communal dialogue, and the effort for the return of refugees and displaced persons under conditions that provide real security.

We believe that part of the return effort includes the Kosovo Assembly's adoption of a resolution on the subject of refugees, above all the amendment specifically including those who left Kosovo after the conflict. That sends a positive signal that we hope will be more than a symbolic gesture. Rather, we hope that it will truly help to create the political and legal commitment conducive to the ultimate establishment of a positive and enabling atmosphere for the return of refugees and displaced persons to their communities.

The efforts being made to achieve disarmament are also important, as is the need to take advantage of the amnesty recently announced by UNMIK and for people to hand over any firearms in their possession before 30 September. It is clear that the proliferation of weapons fosters violence, organized crime and terrorism.

As I indicated earlier, I would like to conclude my statement by once again emphasizing the importance of cooperation between Belgrade and

Pristina so that the process of building a multi-ethnic society can bear fruit. Before the question of Kosovo's status is resolved it is necessary not only to achieve certain standards, the rule of law and the establishment of the institutions necessary for genuinely representative political life; there must also be determined dialogue and close communication between Belgrade and Pristina conducive to establishing the necessary environment and conditions for reaching the understandings necessary to knit together the fabric of Kosovar society and to finally resolve the issue of status.

In this connection, we are concerned over the recent adoption by the Serbian Government of a document on Kosovo, which, in our view, does not help to establish a conducive atmosphere for the beginning of dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina.

We wish to make a very strong appeal to the provisional authorities in the province of Kosovo to refrain from issuing unilateral pronouncements that only exacerbate the atmosphere of confrontation and misunderstanding.

Mr. Maquieira (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to thank you for having convened this meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro. I also welcome the presence of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro here today, although we regret the events that have brought him to New York.

We strongly condemn the events that took place on 13 August near the village of Gorazdevac that took the lives of two children and wounded a number of others. The killing of children is utterly despicable. There can be no justification for it; it is unacceptable. Allow me to convey our condolences to the bereaved families.

This occurrence is yet another in a series of recent events in the region which the Security Council has condemned. It has also expressed its concern as to their impact on the ongoing process in Kosovo.

Every effort must be made to find those responsible for these and other atrocities, who to date have gone unpunished. The perpetrators must be brought to justice. We welcome the steps taken so far by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), and it is our hope that its efforts to find those responsible will be stepped up even further.

Any act of violence, harassment or discrimination on ethnic grounds is detrimental to the building of a multi-ethnic Kosovo and goes against the spirit of resolution 1244 (1999). The Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo have a central role to play in achieving reconciliation in Kosovo, so as to make possible the building of a multi-ethnic and democratic society that includes all inhabitants, with no exclusions.

The events that have brought us here today must serve as a catalyst for us to recommit ourselves to this process. The future of Kosovo presents a major challenge. We therefore agree with what Mr. Holkeri said on 14 August about the urgent need to strengthen the rule of law, step up the combat against organized crime and promote economic development.

We urge the parties to intensify and broaden the scope of the dialogue. In the absence of a constructive dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina and between UNMIK and the Kosovo Assembly, it will be very difficult to achieve any concrete and tangible results with respect to the major challenge that is faced.

We reiterate once again our thanks for the efforts and the professionalism of UNMIK personnel, and we offer our full support to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Harri Holkeri, whom we know from his excellent work as President of the Assembly. We wish him well in his current work.

Mr. Tidjani (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): I should like at the outset to thank you, Sir, for having convened this meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Kosovo. I should like also to bid welcome to the Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Mr. Covic, and to thank him for the statement he made earlier.

The shooting incident of 13 August that took place in the Pec region, which resulted in the death of two young Serbs and the hospitalization of several others, who were seriously wounded, was a horrendous and inadmissible act which is of great concern to my delegation. We convey sincere condolences to the bereaved families.

Our condemnation of this deadly incident is all the more resolute given that it comes shortly after the heinous murder on 3 August of Commander Satish Menon of the United Nations Interim Administration

Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) police, who was killed in cold blood while carrying out his duties in the Mitrovica area, in the north of Kosovo. We recall also the murder on 4 June of three people in the city of Obilic and the many acts of vandalism carried out on ethnic grounds. Cameroon wishes to reiterate its strong condemnation of these acts, which run counter to the process of normalization of the situation in Kosovo and to the creation of the structures of a new Kosovar society endowed with functioning democratic institutions, in a secure and prosperous framework of tolerance in which people accept each other's differences and respect one another.

On 3 July, my delegation said, in this very Chamber, that it was pleased at the important progress made in Kosovo in the political and institutional areas. Unfortunately, however, the same cannot be said of security-related issues. We fear that, if we are not careful, such unacceptable acts could form part of a strategy aimed at undermining the dialogue that the international community has tirelessly been advocating for the Kosovo parties. This would make it more difficult, if not impossible, to restore confidence in all its aspects.

The people there are more than ever in need of the presence of, and an additional impetus from, the international community, in order to help them to keep alive the hope, and make a reality, of a peaceful society — a unified society living in harmony with itself and with its environment.

The process of the return of displaced persons and of refugees — for which an appeal was launched on 2 July, to the great satisfaction of the international community — could be the principal victim of these murders, which exacerbate fear, hatred, injustice and violence. I therefore welcome the appeal made by the Deputy Prime Minister for Serbs to remain in Kosovo.

I should like to say here also that my country is committed to the principle of standards before status.

A few days ago, a delegation from my country visited Kosovo and took note of the excellent work being done there by the United Nations and by the international community as a whole. We have read the latest report of the Secretary-General on Kosovo, and we have also noted the fragility of the achievements registered in the context of the serious problems stemming from questions of identity, which pose a major obstacle to the building of a truly multi-ethnic society.

In this context, my delegation fully agrees with what Mr. Holkeri, the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, said on 13 August:

> "We cannot allow a few extremists, of whatever ethnicity, to undermine the secure and hopeful future of Kosovo that so many have worked to build here. Such incidents will only strengthen our determination to establish the rule of law for the sake of all people in Kosovo."

More than 450,000 illegal arms of all calibres are circulating today in Kosovo. This poses an ongoing threat to peace and security in the province and to the efforts of the international community, as is made clear by these recent regrettable events. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we welcomed the decision to launch a weapons amnesty programme in Kosovo from 1 to 30 September, to enable the voluntary disarmament of the people until the latter date, after which they will face legal action. My delegation urgently appeals to all sectors of Kosovo society massively to support that programme, which has opened up a new window on the highway to peace and reconciliation.

My delegation once again calls on political and administrative leaders and civil society in the province to avoid any action that could inflame emotions and thus create new obstacles to the process of building a multi-ethnic and multicultural civil society. They are all responsible for the security of all the people of Kosovo and thus have a role to play in combating that type of incident and in combating impunity. Their firm commitment is essential.

My delegation is convinced that direct dialogue between Pristina and Belgrade could defuse all kinds of declared and potential tensions or at least prevent their exacerbation. The rapprochement of the two capitals should be encouraged and continued.

The current situation in Kosovo indicates that much remains to be done if we wish to attain our goals. But it is possible, as demonstrated by the success of the civilian Kosovo Police Force, which is multi-ethnic and incorporates gender mainstreaming. The Police Force has the difficult task of enforcing the law in Kosovo and combating extremism and all other forms of crime. Initially, it is being given significant assistance from the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in

Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR). In that context, we hope that UNMIK's efforts will speedily result in the perpetrators of those recent crimes being found and brought to justice.

Only the commitment of all Kosovans to a culture of peace will restore peace in hearts and minds and make it possible to build a truly multi-ethnic and multicultural society founded on universally recognized democratic values. That is the challenge faced by Kosovans, and by the entire international community as well. The international community long ago decided to meet that challenge and is patiently and tenaciously striving to do so. Now, it is up to the people of Kosovo to prove that they are committed to that path.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Unfortunately, the participation of the Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Mr. Covic, in today's meeting of the Security Council is due to a tragic event. Russia learned with outrage and sorrow of the horrendous crime committed on 13 August in the Pec area of Kosovo, where two people were killed and four Serb children were wounded. There is no possible justification for that incident. It deserves strong condemnation, as well as a commensurate, robust response. We hope that the guilty will be found and duly punished. We express our profound condolences to the relatives of all the victims, particularly to those who lost their children in this tragedy. There is no doubt whatsoever that this is another manifestation of terrorism. And in the context of the realities of Kosovo, it is particularly dangerous since it adds further tension to complex inter-ethnic relations. As experience has shown, such incidents, which clearly have an ethnic subtext, can trigger a chain reaction, with extremely negative consequences for the settlement in the province.

We note the expeditious steps taken by the international presence, inter alia, by the Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), Mr. Holkeri, to apprehend the criminals and to bring them to justice. That incident clearly demonstrates once again the complexity of the challenges in Kosovo facing the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, primarily in maintaining — or rather, in restoring — the multi-ethnic nature of the province. That tragic episode has proven once more the validity of the policy of the international community to step up efforts to advance the peace process and to prioritize the normalization of the situation in Kosovo, primarily by ensuring equal security and the rule of law. Meeting those challenges is the duty not only of the international presence but also of Kosovo politicians, who bear some of the responsibility for the situation in the province.

Russia's position on the processes going on in the province is well known. Over the last four years, since the Security Council adopted resolution 1244 (1999), an enormous effort has been invested in the settlement, and significant progress has been made. However, despite the progress in providing for significant autonomy and self-government in Kosovo, as stipulated by resolution 1244 (1999), there are still serious unresolved problems in the province.

The main problem remains the absence of adequate security and the continuation of ethnically motivated violence. So far, those persons guilty of committing the brutal 4 June murder of a Serbian family in Obilic have not yet been identified and therefore have not been duly punished. Today, we are once again witnessing a horrendous crime whose target was children.

There are still serious difficulties in providing for the adequate representation of minorities, particularly of the Serbian minority, in the structures of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of the province. As well, there are difficulties in establishing the process for the return of refugees to the province. Like other members of the Security Council, we are convinced that unless there is a radical improvement in the situation regarding those issues, the idea of building a multi-ethnic society in Kosovo will be further stalled, which will fuel unhealthy illusions among the remaining extremist forces in the province. That would create fertile ground for the continuation of violence.

Under the leadership of Mr. Holkeri, UNMIK will have to do painstaking work fully to implement the provisions of resolution 1244 (1999) and work on the concept of "standards before status", which provides for the necessary basic democratic conditions to be put in place before a final decision is taken on the future status of Kosovo. We urge the Mission to take a more active and more consistent position on countering any manifestation of inter-ethnic intolerance, ethnic crime or the growth of radical tendencies in the province, and on establishing law and order.

Mr. Cheng Jingye (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation welcomes the presence of Deputy Prime Minister Covic of the Republic of Serbia to brief the Security Council on the situation in Kosovo. I listened attentively to his statement.

The Chinese delegation was deeply shocked by the shooting incident that occurred in the Pec region on 13 August, resulting in the deaths of two Serb children and the serious injury of four others. We strongly condemn this violence and urge that efforts be made immediately to investigate the incident and to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Recently, the Kosovo region has been troubled by rampant terrorist activities and a series of violent incidents. We are deeply concerned by these developments in the situation. The tragedy of 13 August demonstrates yet again that, although it has been four years since the Security Council adopted resolution 1244 (1999), achieving peace, stability and multi-ethnic peaceful coexistence in Kosovo remains a long and arduous task.

We urge the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo to take effective measures to strengthen the establishment of the rule of law in Kosovo, to improve the security situation there and thereby to prevent such violence from reoccurring.

Resolution 1244 (1999) established the foundations for resolving the issue of Kosovo. In order to guarantee the legitimate rights and interests of all ethnic groups in Kosovo and to promote the ultimate settlement of the issue of Kosovo, it is necessary that the Government of Serbia and Montenegro and the Provisional Institutions of Kosovo undertake political dialogue as soon as possible. To that end, the international community should provide active support.

Mr. Sow (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I should like to thank you, Sir, for organizing this meeting, which gives us an opportunity to assess recent developments in Kosovo.

My delegation welcomes the presence among us of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Mr. Covic, and thanks Mr. Michael Steiner for his excellent work during his tenure. I also wish to congratulate Mr. Harri Holkeri on his appointment to lead the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and to assure him of our full support.

Our consideration of the current situation in Kosovo prompts me to offer a few comments on pending issues. The crucial issues of security and the restoration of trust among the various ethnic groups are among the challenges to be faced.

The murder early this month of an UNMIK police commander and the shooting of a group of young Serbs on 13 August near Pec, following the massacre of an entire family in Obilic last June, demonstrate the precariousness of the security situation in Kosovo. Furthermore, these tragic events emphasize the need for all communities in Kosovo to become more involved in seeking solutions to the problems of the province so as to restore lasting peace there.

My delegation offers its condolences to the bereaved families and to the Indian Government and strongly condemns these criminal actions, the perpetrators of which must be brought to justice. We support ongoing efforts to improve the judicial system and police services, which are essential to the restoration of security.

In this regard, we welcome UNMIK's decision on its programme to combat the proliferation and illicit circulation of weapons in Kosovo. We urge all the parties involved to do their utmost to ensure the success of the programme, which is scheduled to start on 1 September.

While the international community has a primary role in normalizing the situation in Kosovo, it is nonetheless true that the success of this undertaking depends above all on the will and resolve of the Kosovars themselves. They must demonstrate tolerance and mutual respect in order to transcend their differences and promote reconciliation and peace.

In the search for lasting peace, strengthening cooperation among the various communities with UNMIK and the Kosovo Force is an imperative need.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, in turn, to convey to Deputy Prime Minister Covic our sincere gratitude for his presence and for his statement, although we deeply regret the circumstances that have brought him to the Council.

France condemned immediately and in the strongest terms the hateful crime committed on

Wednesday 13 August against a group of Serb teenagers in the village of Gorazdevac, which claimed the lives of two of them. The following day, the Security Council held consultations on this question and the President read out a statement to the press reiterating the condemnation of all its members of this act.

We wish once again, here and in the presence of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Mr. Covic, to restate France's sympathy for the sorrow of the families. France supports the steps that were swiftly taken to apprehend the perpetrator or perpetrators of this crime and hopes that they will be arrested and brought to justice as soon as possible.

Another shooting incident involving children apparently took place on Sunday afternoon, this time without casualty. If the report is confirmed, this new outbreak of violence shall elicit the same unequivocal condemnation from us. These crimes, which are totally unjustifiable, damage the image of Kosovo within the international community. They must strengthen our resolve to move forward in establishing the rule of law in a modern, democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo. The Provisional Institutions of Self-Government, which have pledged to work for inter-ethnic reconciliation, have a special responsibility in this respect.

We listened carefully to the statement made by Mr. Covic. Naturally, we agree with the objective of reducing violence. It is up to the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), together with the Kosovo Force and in consultation with local actors, to determine which new measures will be necessary to that end. Opening direct dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, if it is constructive, should also help reduce tension on the ground.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm France's full support of and confidence in the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Harri Holkeri, in the daunting mission just entrusted to him.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

At the outset, I wish to welcome Mr. Covic, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia and President of the Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija. We thank him for having taken the trouble to come to New York to brief the Security Council on the most recent developments in the situation in Kosovo.

The Syrian delegation has listened very attentively to the positions and opinions put forward by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia. We have taken note, with much regret, of the events that took the lives of two young Kosovans and caused the injury of others. Syria condemns those acts and reaffirms its view that all parties must comply with the agreements reached.

We convey our sincere condolences to the bereaved families. We call for an end to such acts and violations, including the attacks to which a number of Kosovo citizens were subjected today.

Syria welcomes the measures taken by the Kosovo Provisional Institutions of Self-Government and the investigation by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to determine the identity of the perpetrators of the attacks and to bring them to justice.

Syria reiterates its support for UNMIK and for the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Kosovo, Mr. Harri Holkeri. We wish him every success in discharging the tasks assigned to him, particularly under such circumstances.

In conclusion, allow me to reaffirm once again our conviction about the need to achieve coexistence among all citizens of Kosovo, regardless of their ethnic, racial or religious background. That should ensure peace, justice and security for all.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council. There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4810

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4810th meeting

Tuesday, 19 August 2003, 11.10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mekdad	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mrs. Gueguen
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-46938 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Danilo Türk, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Türk to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Danilo Türk, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs. On behalf of the Council, I would like to welcome Mr. Türk, and I give him the floor.

Mr. Türk: Before proceeding to the item on the Council's agenda and offering my briefing on the situation in the Middle East, I would just like to say how very much we in the Secretariat appreciate the statement which you, Mr. President, have just made regarding the tragic events in Baghdad, resulting from a terrorist attack on the United Nations office in Baghdad. Undoubtedly, the Council will come back to this tragedy. But in the meantime, and in accordance with the agenda, I would like to proceed with the following briefing on the situation in the Middle East.

Since the last briefing to the Security Council, on 17 July, the situation in the Middle East has remained fragile. The recent violence on the Israeli-Lebanese border and in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is testament to that. It is noteworthy, however, that the overall level of violence in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, compared to previous months, has dropped considerably, although, tragically, lives continue to be lost.

Despite setbacks, progress in some areas continues with the implementation of the Quartet's road map. At the end of July, President Bush hosted Palestinian Prime Minister Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Sharon for talks on road map implementation, reflecting the United States Government's deep commitment to the process. The international community should be actively supportive, and should work with the parties to seek ways to maintain momentum in this difficult process. However, there are no miracle fixes or easy shortcuts for the strategic actions that both parties must take in parallel to ensure the realization of the road map's ultimate goals: an end to terrorism and violence, an end to the occupation and a resolution to the conflict, leading to two States, Israel and Palestine, living in peace and security side by side.

The Palestinian Authority must intensify its efforts to achieve full security control in its areas. That is a primary obligation under the terms of the road map. The Palestinian Authority should also continue the reform process in order to streamline and professionalize the cabinet and the civil service and to secure full accountability and transparency. As was reported last month, the Palestinian Authority resumed security responsibility for the Gaza Strip and Bethlehem in early July, and violence in those areas has significantly decreased. Until now, however, and six weeks into the ceasefire, the parties have been unable to agree on the conditions under which the Palestinian Authority would resume security responsibilities in the remaining seven West Bank Palestinian cities. Both parties must deepen their commitment to security cooperation: it lies at the heart of further progress.

For its part, Israel should help to strengthen the Government of Mahmoud Abbas — Abu Mazen — and should take additional steps to improve the lives of ordinary Palestinians. Without such steps, the Palestinian people lack adequate incentives for peace. Israel must also recognize that its settlement policy in fact undermines the possibility of a future viable and contiguous Palestinian State. That also means that Israel should reconsider the construction of the separation barrier, and its route. We recognize that Israel has a legitimate right to security. However, the barrier is a unilateral act not in keeping with the road map, and we call again on the Government of Israel to halt its construction.

At this fragile time, each party must do more towards the re-establishment of trust and continue to explore mutual confidence-building measures.

Since the declaration of the 30 June ceasefire, there has been a noticeable reduction in the numbers of casualties on both sides. There were 21 Palestinian fatalities and 60 injuries since 1 July, compared with 68 fatalities and 111 injuries for the month of June. On the Israeli side, during the same period, there were five fatalities and 21 injuries, compared with 33 fatalities and 111 injuries in June.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reports that there has been a significant decrease in the number of Palestinian house demolitions, with eight cases reported in July, compared with 57 in June.

However, there has been a disturbing increase in violence in August. Tragically, on 12 August two Israeli civilians were killed and some dozen injured in separate suicide bombings in Rosh Ha'ayin and the West Bank settlement of Ariel. Such terrorist attacks are in clear violation of the ceasefire. The Palestinian Authority should do all in its power to apprehend the instigators of those attacks. The Israeli army has also reported increased incidents of Palestinian fire against its positions in Gaza.

The Israel Defence Forces (IDF), on the other hand, launched military operations that have resulted in Palestinian casualties. On 8 August, the IDF targeted a suspected bomb-making facility in the Askar refugee camp in Nablus. The IDF incursion resulted in the death of two Hamas activists and two civilians. On 14 August, an IDF operation in the West Bank resulted in the killing of the head of Islamic Jihad in Hebron.

The terrible cycle of violence and revenge must not be allowed once again to gather momentum. I urge both parties to exercise maximum restraint and to resist the urge to respond to provocation. Clearly, the onus is on the parties to agree to the conditions by which they can commence security cooperation in all parts of the West Bank as soon as possible, so that the Palestinian Authority can resume full security responsibility in its areas. This week the Palestinian Authority and the Government of Israel will continue their discussions concerning the handover of security responsibility for the towns of Qalqilya, Jericho, Ramallah and Tulkarm. This is a difficult process, but its resolution is key to moving forward.

One of the key challenges to the fulfilment of the road map's goal of a two-State solution is Israel's settlement policy. Phase one of the road map calls for the dismantlement of settlement outposts established since March 2001 and for a freeze in all settlement activity, including in the natural growth of settlements.

According to an Israeli monitoring group, some 60 settlement outposts were established between March 2001 and June 2003. The Government of Israel dismantled eight of those outposts, one of which was rebuilt in mid-July. A further 12 outposts were built by settlers, of which five were dismantled. The result is that as of 13 August the sum total of settlement outposts remains at 60. That is to say that there has been no improvement in the situation since the start of the process.

Since the last briefing to the Council there has been a significant rise in the number of reports of settlement activity. Settlement expansion plans — including significant incentives for potential settlers in the Jordan Valley, East Jerusalem and elsewhere — are being discussed by the Government of Israel. New bypass roads have been approved in at least three locations in the West Bank.

On 31 July, the Israel Lands Authority announced that the Defence Ministry had approved the issuance of a tender to build a number of new housing units in Neveh Dekalim, a settlement in the Gaza Strip. That is in addition to significant expansion of the lands surrounding the Morag settlement, which is also in the Gaza Strip.

As the Mitchell Committee noted in its report of 30 April 2001, "The kind of security cooperation desired by the Government of Israel [with the Palestinians] cannot for long co-exist with settlement activity".

The building of the separation wall, the continued presence of settlement outposts and the policy of settlement expansion have caused many Palestinians to question Israel's intent in the peace process. As noted previously, the continued creation of such facts on the ground calls into question the viability of an independent Palestinian State and contradicts the spirit and intent of the road map.

There were some marked improvements in July 2003 in the humanitarian situation in the occupied Palestinian territory, although the situation of Palestinian civilians remains dire.

The movement of United Nations and international staff into and within the Gaza Strip has eased considerably. Fewer access incidents were

reported by international humanitarian organizations — 40 in July, compared with 302 in June — and delays and denial of access for ambulances were reduced by more than half — with 41 cases in July, compared with 113 cases in June. Most reported incidents continued to come from the checkpoints in the Nablus area.

The IDF removed several key roadblocks in July in the Ramallah, Bethlehem and Hebron areas, although some of those were replaced by manned checkpoints. Changes for the better were most felt in the Ramallah area, with the removal of the Surda and Ain Arik earthen-mound roadblocks, although so-called flying checkpoints on those roads are often in operation.

However, most villages and towns continue to experience severe access problems, and the majority of Palestinians are forced to make long and complicated detours to reach their homes, workplaces, educational facilities and hospital services. Some 100 checkpoints — combined with another 300 to 400 roadblocks, earthen mounds, ditches and gates — remain in place in the northern West Bank alone. In Gaza, despite the new security arrangements, severe restrictions on movement continue to be applied to the Palestinian population living in some isolated areas. Restrictions on access and freedom of movement remain the single greatest impediment to any significant and long-term improvement in the humanitarian situation of the Palestinian population.

In fulfilment of Prime Minister Sharon's commitments to President Bush at the Aqaba summit, the Government of Israel has undertaken to release a number of Palestinian prisoners. According to the Palestinian Ministry of Detainees' Affairs, there are some 6,500 Palestinians being held in Israeli detention centres. As of 18 August, Israel had released 419 prisoners, according to Israel's prisoner services. Conversely, the Palestinian Ministry of Detainees' Affairs has indicated that since 1 June, 405 Palestinians have been arrested. I urge Israel to address this issue in genuine partnership with the Palestinians, and encourage a more broad-minded policy of release.

Turning now to the situation along the Blue Line, I note with regret the violent disruption earlier this month of the relative calm that had prevailed in south Lebanon, where there had been no major incident since late January. The Council will recall from its briefing last week that on 8 August there was a heavy exchange of fire across the Blue Line when Hizbullah attacked Israeli military positions in the Shab'a farms area. Fortunately, no casualties were reported. The Secretary-General was very concerned by that incident and asked for all sides to refrain from actions that would increase tensions.

I wish to remind all parties concerned that the Council has on many occasions repeated its position that attacks on the Shab'a farms are violations of the Blue Line. We again call on the parties to ensure that such violations cease. Also, consistent with Security Council resolutions, it is the duty and responsibility of the Government of Lebanon to ensure the return of its effective authority and presence in the south. Recent incidents make it imperative for the Government of Lebanon to deploy its forces in southern Lebanon to that end.

Members of the Council may recall that for most of this year we have characterized the situation along the Blue Line as having an uneasy, fragile calm. As we did during our last briefing to the Council, and as the Secretary-General did in his recent report on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, we have continued to draw attention to the dangerous cycle of overflights and anti-aircraft artillery fire, some of which is not related to overflights. As the Council is aware, Hizbullah anti-aircraft fire caused the death of a young Israeli civilian and the wounding four others in Shelomi on 10 August. As has been stated on numerous occasions, one violation cannot justify another. The Secretary-General strongly condemned that action by Hizbullah and reiterated his call for restraint.

In his briefing last month, Mr. Roed-Larsen warned of the potential of this cycle for escalation and recalled the many times that the United Nations and concerned Member States have called on the Government of Israel to respect Lebanon's sovereignty and to abstain from overflights. As he said last month, those calls have not been heeded. He also presciently warned of the dangers of anti-aircraft fire from the Lebanese side.

Sadly, an innocent life has been lost. We again wish to stress the need for all parties to abide fully by their obligations under all relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 425 (1978) and the recently adopted resolution 1496 (2003), as well as to respect the Blue Line in its entirety. The people of south Lebanon and northern Israel deserve no less.

In conclusion, the situation in the Middle East as described is indeed fragile. As Mr. Roed-Larsen has

stated repeatedly, "Peace processes, anywhere in the world, thrive on forward momentum". Both parties — Israelis and Palestinians — need courage and determination to stay the course. They must not allow themselves to fall back into the tragic and senseless cycle of violence and revenge. I appeal to the parties to continue to implement the steps called for in the road map, in the interest of attaining peace and security for both peoples.

The challenges are also great for the international community, especially the members of the Quartet. We must do everything in our power to encourage Israelis and Palestinians to take risks for peace, and even consider new initiatives to energize the process.

Only resolve, determination and full-hearted commitment to the process by the parties, the Quartet and key regional players can bring us to the goals we all share: a just and comprehensive peace based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), and 1397 (2002).

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank Mr. Türk for his comprehensive briefing and for the kind words he addressed to me.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4811

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4811 th meeting

Wednesday, 20 August 2003, 7.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wehbe	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mrs. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-47231 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.20 p.m.

Tribute to the memory of United Nations personnel

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): As members are all aware, this meeting has been convened following a particularly tragic set of events. May I invite all participants to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the United Nations personnel and all others who were killed in Baghdad in the pursuit of peace and recovery for Iraq, as well as to express our deep solidarity with all United Nations personnel and all humanitarian workers in the field everywhere.

The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council unequivocally condemns the terrorist attack that took place on 19 August 2003 against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad and thereby against the international community as a whole, causing numerous deaths and injuries among international personnel and Iraqi people.

"The Security Council condemns also in the strongest terms the perpetrators of such attack and underlines the need to bring them to justice.

"The Security Council pays tribute and expresses its deepest admiration to all those among the United Nations personnel who have lost their lives or have been injured in the service of the United Nations and of the Iraqi people, including the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello.

"The Security Council expresses its deepest sympathy and condolences to the victims and their families.

"The Security Council reaffirms the imperative to respect, in all circumstances, the safety and security of United Nations personnel and the need for adequate security measures to be taken in this regard.

"The Security Council reaffirms its determination to assist the Iraqi people to build peace and justice in their country and to determine their own political future by themselves. It welcomes in this regard the determination of the United Nations to continue its operation in Iraq to fulfil its mandate in the service of the Iraqi people, and will not be intimidated by such attacks."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2003/13.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4812

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4812th meeting

Thursday, 21 August 2003, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mekdad	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-47305 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by His Excellency Sir Emyr Jones Parry, the representative of the United Kingdom, and by His Excellency Mr. John Negroponte, the representative of the United States.

I now give the floor to Mr. John Negroponte, the representative of the United States.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): On 22 May, this body joined together to help the Iraqi people recover from decades of repression, wilful neglect and isolation. We adopted a framework to enable the Coalition Provisional Authority, the United Nations Member States and others in the international community to contribute to Iraq's reconstruction.

At that time, my Government and the United Kingdom committed to informing the Council on a quarterly basis of progress in implementing resolution 1483 (2003). We had looked forward to this opportunity to inform the Council in detail about coalition activities and efforts to illustrate our commitment to fostering the conditions in which the Iraqi people could chart their own future and to seek the Council's continued support for this unprecedented undertaking.

But, like everyone gathered here, as well as friends and colleagues in countries all over the world, our step is a little slower today, our smiles a bit forced, as we begin to come to grips with the truly inestimable loss of Sergio Vieira de Mello and other United Nations officials and Iraqi staff members who perished on Tuesday.

It has been only three short months since resolution 1483 (2003) was adopted and, in that brief period, Sergio and his devoted staff energetically seized the mandate awarded by the Council and forged a path for United Nations contributions to Iraq's reconstruction. For nearly 60 years, the United Nations has been a partner and friend to people in need all over the world. United Nations employees who freely choose to help in Iraq are unarmed civilian professionals who have devoted their talents and energies to public service. These good people are men and women from every background who lend a hand when we call. They are no man's enemy.

On behalf of the United States and the American people, I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims and their families. I also want to assure the Council that coalition forces are working closely with United Nations officials to ensure that the injured receive appropriate medical care. We greatly appreciate the many offers of assistance from other nations with the difficult — indeed, heartwrenching — work at the site of the attack.

While we do not yet know the identities of those who perpetrated this hateful attack, we can surmise their motives: to restore the brutal reign of terror of the Saddam regime and the Baath party; to terrify those who wish to work with the international community to build a free and democratic Iraq; to create a new battleground in the global war between terrorists and civilized nations; to prevent the emergence of a new Iraq whose people live at peace among themselves and with their neighbours; and to threaten the foundation carefully laid since Iraq's liberation.

The Iraqi people, the coalition, the United Nations and others in the international community have laboured mightily over the past few months to build a new Iraq. With concrete support from the international community, the Iraqi people will realize the potential of their great nation. However, as Tuesday's attack painfully illustrates, we should be under no illusions about the enormity of the task.

Thirty years of unbridled tyranny have scarred and stunted the Iraqi body politic. The sustained lack of investment in human and material infrastructure has left Iraq ill equipped to meet the needs and challenges of the twenty-first century. Iraq must transform its failed statist economy into a functioning market-based system. Basic services must be fully restored, improved and expanded. The voice of the Iraqi people must be reclaimed from enforced silence and speak freely in a civil society through responsible media and through local and national elections. The rule of law, enshrined

in a new constitution and grounded in respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, must supplant rule by terror. The police and army must be transformed from instruments of oppression and brutality into professional institutions capable of ensuring order and security.

Resolution 1483 (2003) provided the framework for Iraq's regeneration. Since its adoption, one of the most significant accomplishments was the formation on 13 July of the 25-member Governing Council. It is now up to the Governing Council to guide the country through the sequence of events, naming ministers for an interim Government, drafting a constitution and holding elections that will lead to an internationally recognized representative Government.

For the first time in decades, Iraqi resources — including oil revenues, assets of the former regime and donor funds — are being spent for the benefit of the Iraqi people. The coalition, in coordination with the Governing Council, developed a budget for the remainder of 2003 of $6.1 billion. The Governing Council has now taken the lead in developing a budget for the year 2004.

Allow me to highlight other important markers of progress. In all of these areas, the coalition has worked side by side with United Nations specialized agencies and, in many cases, the resulting achievements would not have been possible without their assistance and expertise.

We are working to improve economic conditions. Salaries, pensions and emergency payments inject $20 million per month into the Iraqi economy. The coalition is buying wheat and barley crops from Iraqi farmers. Efforts are under way to establish an Iraqi trade bank and to put the banking system on line. Currency unification is set for the month of October.

In the field of security, we have initiated programmes to enable Iraqis to develop a capacity to foil the saboteurs who target their electrical infrastructure, oil industry and other sectors critical to Iraq's renewal. For example, we are in the process of organizing an Iraqi civil defence corps to work with coalition forces on security tasks, and we have also hired several thousand Iraqis into the Facilities Protection Service to provide security for critical infrastructure, Government facilities and cultural and educational assets.

We have taken major strides towards promoting a secure environment with an effective and professional police force. Tens of thousands of Iraqi police answered the call to return to work for the betterment of their country, and recruitment and training is under way to put thousands more on the streets. There are currently nearly 38,000 police officers patrolling throughout the country, some 6,000 of whom are in Baghdad. Our ultimate goal is to have approximately 65,000 police countrywide. We have also worked hard with the Iraqis to refurbish and reopen police stations, courts and prisons around the country. Some countries have already contributed expertise, trainers or equipment to support police programmes in Iraq, most notably Canada, Denmark, Singapore and South Korea. We will need the help of other countries to build an effective and durable Iraqi police force.

It is a basic task of security sector reform in Iraq to make permanent the demilitarization of the internal security structures of the Saddam regime. However, as it resumes full control of its affairs, Iraq will need a military for self-defence. Accordingly, we have started training the new Iraqi army. We are supporting Governing Council efforts to develop the institutional and legal framework necessary to ensure that the new Iraq's national security policy and national security institutions are under democratic, civilian control and can maintain Iraq's security in a secure region.

Just as with our civilian police and other security reform initiatives, the Iraqi people and the coalition welcome and need the participation of the international community in these efforts to help bring security and stability to Iraq. Many countries have already rallied to this effort. More than 30 nations have sent or committed forces to promote stability in Iraq, and we are continuing our efforts to secure contributions from others.

The timing of Tuesday's attack was no accident. It occurred at a critical juncture, when the impact of initial plans and efforts has begun to take positive effect. A secure, democratic and stable Iraq is a threat and a target for those who would turn the clock back to the days of tyranny. In the face of this attempt to sabotage the future of Iraq, there is only one response available to us if we are to live up to the principles of our Charter. The members of this body must unreservedly stand together. We must invigorate our struggle against terrorism and aggressively implement measures to prevent and suppress acts of terrorism and

we must solidify and enhance our support for security and stability in Iraq in order to foster an environment in which the people of Iraq freely determine their own future.

Members of this body can best honour the legacy of those who died on Tuesday with a sustained and unwavering commitment to build a better Iraq.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I now give the floor to His Excellency Sir Emyr Jones Parry, the representative of the United Kingdom.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): I join Ambassador Negroponte in expressing horror and outrage at the events of Tuesday. Above all, we share the sadness at the loss of Sergio Vieira de Mello and other United Nations officials and Iraqi staff. As with all our friends and colleagues among the United Nations staff in New York and worldwide, Sergio and his team won our admiration and respect for their unflinching commitment to improving the situation of the people of Iraq and carrying forward the ideals of the United Nations.

The progress that Ambassador Negroponte and I are outlining today is almost across the board, the result of the coalition and the United Nations working together. The challenges that remain we will face together. But because today our resolve is even stronger to help the Iraqi people win the prosperous, stable future that they deserve, we cannot allow a small minority to hijack their future. Our goals in Iraq are clear and have been set out repeatedly by the Security Council: the achievement of a free, sovereign Iraq run by the people of Iraq for the people of Iraq and achieved as quickly as possible.

But we have to recognize the difficulties that any State faces in moving from conflict to a stable, peaceful and law-abiding democracy. Experience in the Balkans and in Africa underlines the common difficulties that always exist. The transition to justice, dealing with the crimes of the past, developing law and a legal system and having effective policing and a judiciary and a penal system are all essential but hard won necessities to civic society.

The United Nations has much experience in helping to organize elections, but the task is difficult, painstaking and time-consuming. But representative government is much more than elections. You need electoral laws and political parties. How are manifestos to be communicated? How do people campaign freely? How do you embed democratic practice? And do you have the political will to deliver that and work together for those aims?

I could go on to enumerate a lot of other areas, not least economic. But my essential point is that the challenge of construction is always great, and Iraq, of course, is more difficult in many ways, because we are starting from over 30 years of Saddam's repression and abuse of Iraq and its people. I suspect that the international community as a whole underestimated how much fundamental damage had been caused to the fabric of Iraq and its society by such a pernicious regime.

Ambassador Negroponte touched on security and the economy. I will aim to cover humanitarian activities, the contribution made by the Coalition Provisional Authority to Iraqi efforts to establish local institutions for representative governance and the commitment to ensuring human rights, and legal and judicial reform.

Turning to the first of those — humanitarian activities and the provision of basic services — food distribution systems are fully restored. But, to move on, we need to look beyond the end of the oil-for-food programme. We are conducting poverty and vulnerability surveys in order to identify where continued support will be needed.

In the field of health care, all 240 hospitals in Iraq are now functioning. With the help of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), over 22 million doses of vaccines for measles, tuberculosis, hepatitis B, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio have been provided, enough to vaccinate 4.2 million children. The cholera season is now over. Prompt action kept the number of confirmed cases this year down to 65, well below the average.

We are reinvigorating the education system countrywide, distributing 1.2 million student kits and 3,900 school kits. By the end of June, most schools were open. We have launched an upgrade of school facilities, and we are reviewing all textbooks and their availability. By the end of December, 70 million revised textbooks will have been printed.

The water sector continues to be a priority. We have repaired more than 130 critical breaks in the network. However, as we have seen spectacularly, the

network has been badly hit by highly organized sabotage, exacerbated by a shortage of parts and chemicals. But projects are in hand, in Baghdad and elsewhere, to upgrade existing treatment plants and to build new ones to the benefit of 11.5 million people.

I could turn to representative governance. We have already noted the establishment of the Governing Council to lead the country to elections and to appoint a representative government. The Council is our partner in many decisions concerning the administration of Iraq. The Governing Council has set up a constitutional preparatory committee, which is now meeting to organize countrywide consultations on a future constitution. It has worked up a strategy for consulting and involving civil society in that work. It will be reporting back to the Governing Council by mid-September.

We are also working to ensure representative Iraqi institutions at the local level, where many of the decisions most affecting individuals are, of course, made. Every major Iraqi city now has a local government. We are in the process of deploying teams to help build up Iraqi provincial government, and the Coalition is committed to including women in all phases and at all levels in the reconstruction of Iraq.

On human rights and legal and judicial reform, we are working to support the creation of a culture in which human rights are respected. Human rights and the rule of law must be central to the building of representative, democratic institutions in Iraq.

We are working to ensure transitional justice. International forensic teams have conducted initial assessments of more than 60 of the 150 reported mass graves. A team is collecting witness testimonies and documents. We are working on the preservation of evidence, and we hope shortly to begin to develop a national Iraqi bureau of missing persons. Nothing could be a harsher indictment than us having to do that.

We are supporting efforts to strengthen civil society and human rights education in Iraq. We have disseminated information and training on basic human rights entitlements and protections guaranteed by international law.

The restoration of law and order rests in part on the development of a fully functioning and effective justice system. We have repaired more than 450 court premises and scores of prison facilities countrywide. A Judicial Review Committee comprising equal numbers of Coalition and Iraqi members is in the process of screening judges and prosecutors. A central criminal court for some of the most highly regarded jurists in Iraq has been established as a model of judicial integrity and fairness to handle cases of special importance or with national significance.

If I may move to the conclusion, no member of the Council should underestimate the difficulty or the importance of the undertaking in which we are engaged. Saddam repressed Iraq for more than three decades. He squandered the wealth of Iraq. The State-run economy is in desperate need of reform, with 60 per cent unemployment and no serious investment in infrastructure for decades. Iraq's people are still coming to terms with the fact that hundreds of thousands of their countrymen were killed by their own Government.

While no one should underestimate the challenge, neither should they underestimate our sustained commitment, working alongside the United Nations, with the people of Iraq. We cannot afford to fail. The international community owes it to Iraq. A prosperous and stable Iraq, a prominent member of the international community, will be a success and a tribute to Sergio Vieira de Mello and the staff who lost their lives. We share the goals for Iraq, and our views on means of delivery are converging. We have rightly responded to the terrible events of this week by reaffirming our determination to act together to build a better future for Iraq.

The United Kingdom believes that it is right to respond by stepping up international involvement in all elements of assistance to the Iraqi people, to coping with the security problems and to developing the economic and political aspects.

It is timely that we should examine again the ways in which we, the international community — international institutions and individual countries — can all manifest our solidarity with Iraq by reinforcing current involvement. The needs are quite clear. The question is how can the United Nations do more to accelerate political process, where we have an increasingly common perception of what needs to be done in Iraq. How can we speed up support for reconstruction and economic development? We need to enhance security. What does the Security Council need to do, better to help those nations wishing to contribute

to be able to do so? How can we meet the different policing needs in Iraq, Iraq's relations with the neighbouring countries, the security of the unitary State and the protection of its borders? They are all issues which are germane and crucial. So, what is the scope for action which would further the achievement of a successful Iraq? The United Kingdom very much hopes that in the coming days the Security Council can constructively debate those issues.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I now give the floor to the members of the Security Council. As there is no list of speakers, I invite those Council members who wish to take the floor to so indicate to the Secretariat as from now.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): Like the entire international community, France is still in a state of shock over the terrible attack perpetrated against the United Nations in Baghdad on 19 August, which cost Sergio Vieira De Mellos and a number of his colleagues their lives and wounded dozens of others. In such painful circumstances, in which we do not yet know the fate of many individuals, our meeting today, which had long been planned to hear the briefing by the Coalition Authority, can only be deeply affected by this. Our thoughts go to the victims and the wounded, to their families and to United Nations and humanitarian staff in the field.

It is undoubtedly too soon to draw any final lessons or to take any decisions on the political implications. Simplistic, black-and-white explanations should be avoided. All of us — the United Nations, Council members and the coalition Authority — should remain humble. We must take time for analysis and reflection, beginning with some soul searching and a precise analysis of the situation in all its complexity. We believe that now is the time to identify the questions and begin to reflect on ways of answering them.

In that spirit, I thank the United States and United Kingdom delegations for the detailed briefings that they have just presented. We listened with the greatest attention to the information that they gave the Council, and we shall very carefully study it.

Extreme transparency is necessary if we wish to see things clearly and act effectively for Iraq's speedy recovery of its independence and sovereignty. Our goal for Iraq and the Iraqis, a country and a people with a highly developed and ancient civilization, has not changed. It remains now more than ever to ensure a rapid political transition that will lead to the end of the country's occupation and enable the Iraqis to regain their sovereignty in the framework of a regime that respects the basic rights and freedoms of all.

The sine qua non for the successful economic and political reconstruction of Iraq clearly lies in the restoration of security and public order. Pending the full restoration of Iraqi sovereignty, that responsibility falls first of all to the occupying Powers pursuant to international law, particularly the Hague Regulations and the Geneva Conventions, which were recalled in Security Council resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003).

What happened on Tuesday, 19 August — which had been preceded by other attacks against civilian targets — is heinous, and the perpetrators must be condemned and brought to justice. What occurred nevertheless tragically shows that security remains the priority problem in Iraq and that the way of resolving its must be reviewed in depth. Iraq has become, unfortunately, a theatre of operations for terrorists.

There are, of course, many levels of response. We are first thinking about security measures and mechanisms to ensure the safety of people and goods in Iraq, whether this concerns the United Nations, the Iraqis or foreign diplomatic or humanitarian personnel. The United Nations, in Iraq and elsewhere, cannot carry out the mandate with which the Security Council has entrusted it unless the conditions to fulfil it are established, particularly concerning security. We must collectively consider this serious problem concerning the United Nations missions throughout the world.

Regarding Iraq, I would be grateful to the United States and United Kingdom delegations for any clarifications that they could make on existing machinery. What is the mechanism for disseminating and exchanging information among the Authority, the United Nations and the foreign missions in Iraq? What is the warning mechanism? What specific protection measures are in place? What qualitative and quantitative reinforcement measures have been planned? How can the civil and humanitarian institutions and personnel be protected while fully respecting their independence and preventing them from being in any way confused with the military occupation forces?

There are no easy answers. The answer to the challenge of terrorism and violence cannot only be a matter of security and military force. The solution is above all political as well. To escape from the trap set by terrorists, which is a strategy of creating chaos and a vacuum, Iraqis must be given back their responsibilities and their sovereignty in the shortest term and in a clearly defined sequence of events.

The Secretary-General had pointed this out in his report last month. The report states: "There is a pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation" (S/2003/715, para. 107). Sergio Vieira de Mello himself echoed this statement before the Council last month. France is convinced that political transition will have all the more chance of succeeding if it is led by the Iraqis themselves, with the help not of the occupation forces but of the entire international community, embodied by the United Nations.

As my delegation stated last month, it seems to us that only the United Nations has the legitimacy, impartiality and expertise to ensure the effectiveness of the process of restoring State authority. It is essential to preserve its independence, which is a guarantee of its legitimacy. France is also convinced that the stabilization of Iraq depends on the ability to promptly deal with the crimes and human rights violations committed by the regime of Saddam Hussain and on the capacity to establish machinery for national reconciliation, transitional justice and the promotion of respect for human rights. In that regard, I would also be very grateful to the United States and United Kingdom delegations for any additional clarifications that they might give us.

Lastly, a final aspect that I believe should be mentioned in connection with the security problem is proliferation. We still do not have any details on weapons of mass destruction that the regime of Saddam Hussain was said to have held. If they do indeed exist, we can only be concerned over the fact that they cannot be found in a context of terrorist acts.

In that regard, it also seems to us that it is absolutely essential for the Security Council to reconsider the mandate of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) within a reasonable time, as it has promised to do. France continues to believe that UNMOVIC must play a central role in verifying and certifying Iraq's effective disarmament.

The joint mobilization of the entire international community is the second basic requirement for the successful economic and political reconstruction of Iraq. That will be possible only if the coalition authorities acknowledge that they cannot succeed alone and if they play their role in a completely transparent manner. In a world of equal and sovereign nations, sharing burdens and responsibilities also means sharing information and authority. The international community, and in particular the United Nations, can play a central and effective role only if the reconstruction process begun by the coalition authorities is transparent in every way, especially in the political, economic and financial spheres. There must also be a clear allocation and delineation of roles and responsibilities.

Economic reconstruction also requires the establishment of a timetable. We agree with the idea of holding a donors' conference in October, especially given that the international community should be fully informed about how the Coalition Provisional Authority is using Iraq's financial and oil resources. Nevertheless, as surprising as it may seem, to date we are still lacking the key instrument provided for in resolution 1483 (2003) to ensure ongoing international monitoring of the use of Iraqi resources, namely the International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq (IAMB). We believe that it is essential for that body to be established without any further delay. We also believe that it should have the full authority and capacity to carry out effective monitoring of the use of funds, as outlined in paragraphs 13 and 14 of resolution 1483 (2003).

France is extremely concerned about the current situation in Iraq. We vigorously condemn terrorist acts. Today we must face the terrible question of whether we would be in the same situation today if, under the supervision of the United Nations, a genuine international partnership and comprehensive approach to security, political, economic and social problems had been established at the outset. Everything possible must now be done to avoid prolonged instability and the rise of terrorism in Iraq, a phenomenon that is morally repugnant and reprehensible regardless of its source and which would also present a mortal danger to the Iraqi people. That means comprehensively revising

the strategy pursued thus far in order that peace may prevail.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): I would like to thank the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom for the comprehensive update on the general situation in Iraq, the efforts being undertaken to restructure and reform that country and the implementation of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), as well as for their assessment of the situation following the insidious terror attacks on the headquarters of the United Nations last Tuesday.

We share with the whole Secretariat the deeply felt grief over the loss of close friends and colleagues, among them Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mellos, Special Representative for Iraq, who was a truly remarkable civil servant and representative of the United Nations, as well as others with whom we had developed not only professional but also very often deep personal relationships. They and their work will not be forgotten.

Tuesday's incident has clarified the magnitude of the challenge that we are facing in Iraq. However, that does not change the strategic objectives that the international community is pursuing in that country. The first of those objectives is the restoration of security countrywide. Pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003) and in accordance with international law, that is the ultimate responsibility of the coalition forces. The second objective is the economic and political rebuilding of Iraq, with the aim of fully restoring sovereignty.

Germany is involved in the humanitarian field and will continue to assist in that regard. We do not exclude further assistance in the civilian sector, thereby contributing to the political process.

From our point of view, the process of restoring sovereignty needs to be accelerated. In that respect, the Governing Council is only an intermediate first step on that path. The necessary basis for this process remains the vital role of the United Nations in Iraq. The more that role is strengthened, the more credibility and local, regional and international support it will gain.

We must seek ways to win the hearts of the Iraqi people. We believe that is directly linked to the concept of a time frame, which the Secretary-General presented in his July report (S/2003/715). It is also linked to the perception, held by a large part of the Iraqi population, of an occupation by foreign forces.

The attack attempted to diminish the United Nations and the international community, as well as to isolate the coalition in Iraq. The stronger the role designed for the United Nations in Iraq, the more it will become evident that resistance against the United Nations and the international community is in fact directed against the aspirations of the Iraqi people to live in peace and end their suffering. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, we owe it to Sergio Vieira de Mello that the Coalition Provisional Authority, the United Nations, the international community and the Iraqi population now come together.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Last Tuesday's terrorist attack against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad profoundly shocked and upset my country. On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, I should like to extend the sincerest condolences of the Bulgarian people to the families of those who were killed in the attack and our sympathy to the wounded and to their families.

Sergio Vieira de Mello was an outstanding international civil servant who, through his spirit of self-sacrifice and his dynamism, made his mark on parts of the world as varied as Timor-Leste and Kosovo. We will never forget him.

It seems to us that, even as rescue teams continue to search the rubble of the Canal Hotel, the best way to honour the memory of Sergio Vieira de Mello and his colleagues is to continue the work they began in Iraq, so that the Iraqi people can take charge once again of their own destiny and build the free and democratic Iraq that the terrorists who killed them do not wish to see.

It comes as no surprise that no group has yet claimed responsibility for the heinous act committed in Baghdad. Evil sometimes dares not show its face to a horrified international community. For this reason, we must fight this evil with even greater vigour and unity.

I should like to thank Ambassador Negroponte and Sir Emyr Jones Parry for their reports on the situation in Iraq three months after the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003). I am deeply impressed by the scope of the work that the United States and the United Kingdom have done in Iraq in terms of the political and economic reconstruction of the country.

The news coming out of the country, which is sometimes a source of concern, does not always enable us to see the good work done by the international community to help the Iraqis to build the Iraq that we all want.

My country, Bulgaria, is among those deeply committed to the process of stabilization and reconstruction in Iraq. In terms of security, Bulgaria has contributed a battalion which has been deployed in the Karbala region. My country is also prepared to contribute its expertise and its resources to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI).

We deem crucial that at this time the international community, through the United Nations, regain its unity and help the Iraqi people to take charge of its own destiny. Bulgaria continues to attach importance to the central role of the Organization in the political and economic reconstruction of Iraq. We believe that the United Nations has the necessary expertise and experience to do outstanding work in Iraq. The clearest evidence of this is the work that was accomplished by Sergio Vieira de Mello and his colleagues.

Regarding the political process, we believe that the creation of the interim Governing Council is an important step in the creation of an internationally recognized Iraqi Government. We are convinced that, through this process, Iraq will regain its full sovereignty and be able to make the extremely difficult transition from an internationally isolated authoritarian regime to a democratic Iraq that is fully involved in the international arena and at peace with its neighbours.

Bulgaria will continue to contribute to the work of the United Nations in Iraq. Of course, we must consider ways to enhance the security of United Nations staff in Iraq and everywhere else in the world. But Tuesday's terrorist attack should not deter us from following the course charted by Sergio Vieira de Mello towards an increasingly important and active role of the United Nations in Iraq.

Resolution 1500 (2003), which created UNAMI, is an excellent foundation for this work. It is important that the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council be fully implemented.

Before concluding, I should like to reiterate Bulgaria's belief that only if there is unity within the Council can Iraq regain its full sovereignty and take charge of its future, which can only be one of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The nineteenth of August 2003 was for us a day of shock and sorrow. A violent terrorist attack struck the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, resulting in heavy casualties. The Chinese Government strongly condemns this heinous attack against United Nations personnel.

China's President, Hu Jintao, has issued a statement on this incident and has conveyed, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our condolences to the bereaved families and our sincere sympathy to the wounded. The Chinese Foreign Minister, Li Zhaoxing, has also sent a telegram to the Secretary-General.

Of particular sadness to us is the fact that this incident caused the unfortunate death of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. In his service of more than 30 years to the United Nations, Mr. Vieira de Mello worked tirelessly for the maintenance of peace. His passing is indeed a huge loss for the United Nations. However, his dedication, courage and pursuit of peace and justice will always be remembered by people throughout the world.

The Chinese mission listened attentively to the statements made by the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom. We thank them for their briefings pursuant to Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), which will help us follow more closely the latest developments in Iraq.

The attack against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad and the bombing of the Jordanian embassy in Iraq earlier this month prove once again that security remains the primary issue in Iraq today. The lack of security impedes the normal process of humanitarian assistance and political and economic reconstruction in Iraq. The early restoration of peace and stability to Iraq has become the most urgent priority. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report of 17 July,

> "the Coalition Provisional Authority, not the United Nations, was responsible for administering Iraq, for providing for the welfare of the people, and for restoring conditions of security and stability". (*S/2003/715, para. 105*)

We hope that, with active efforts on the part of the relevant parties, stability will be restored to Iraq at an early date and the security of United Nations personnel effectively ensured.

We welcome the active measures adopted by the Governing Council since its establishment to restore sovereignty, such as appointing administrative department leaders and laying the grounds for the formulation of a new constitution. We hope that these measures will be conducive to the early establishment of a broad-based new Government supported by the Iraqi people. It is our consistent view that reconstruction efforts in Iraq cannot succeed without the extensive participation and active cooperation of the international community. The United Nations should play an active and effective role in Iraq's reconstruction.

Despite the attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, we are convinced that the United Nations mission in Iraq will not be brought to an end. We hope that resolution 1500 (2003), adopted by the Security Council last week, will mark the beginning of a substantive United Nations role in Iraq. I wish to reiterate that China will continue, alongside the rest of the international community, to support the United Nations important role on the Iraqi issue and to help the Iraqi people restore stability and order as soon as possible.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like first to thank the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for the information they have provided us on the unfolding events in Iraq. We feel that it is constructive for the members of the Security Council to receive such information and to make comments.

We fully understand the difficulty of discussing concrete achievements in a context so strongly marked by the events surrounding the deadly terrorist attack on the United Nations offices in Baghdad. We cannot pass up this opportunity to reiterate our firmest condemnation of that criminal attack and to emphasize the need to bring the perpetrators to justice. We have conveyed our condolences to the Secretary-General and, through him, to the families of the victims, in particular over the death of Sergio Vieira de Mello, a fellow Latin American and a brilliant diplomat. The United Nations has paid with human lives for its right to participate in the process of reconstructing Iraq.

Terrorism, which seeks the prevalence of hatred and violence over rationality and tolerance, is one of the greatest threats of our times. We have seen this in Baghdad and in Jerusalem. And yet, our struggle against terrorism cannot and must not be a series of isolated individual efforts. It must be a joint effort of the international community. These events confirm the truth of this assertion.

Despite our sorrow at the loss of the lives of international civil servants and Iraqi staff members of the United Nations in Baghdad, we must not allow these actions to divert us from the course towards the recovery by Iraq and its people of their full sovereignty. We know that the situation is highly complex and that new and greater efforts are required to stabilize the situation in Iraq.

In the view of the Chilean delegation, the new circumstances require the Council to focus its attention on two urgent and principal aspects. The first is the issue of the security of United Nations personnel throughout the world and, in particular, in Iraq. In this regard, we deem it necessary to review the measures that have been taken to date and to make any necessary corrections so as to avoid a recurrence of such distressing incidents as those of last Tuesday. We feel that this task must be undertaken jointly by the Security Council, the Secretariat and, of course, the representatives of the coalition forces in Iraq.

Secondly, we believe that, in the light of recent events, the Security Council must launch a process of seeking new mechanisms and different approaches to its future work in Iraq. In this respect, we believe that the starting point of such a process of reflection must be the decision, reaffirmed yesterday, to pursue the United Nations aims and purposes in Iraq. Any step backwards would signal the triumph of violence and terror. We believe that the Council is duty-bound to consider ways and means by which the United Nations and the international community can cooperate more actively in humanitarian tasks and in the reconstruction of Iraq in all its aspects.

Experience gained and mechanisms used in other regions, such as Afghanistan or Kosovo, may be useful in this regard. It may also be appropriate once again to consider a time frame for transition in Iraq, as proposed to the Council by the Secretary-General, in order to restore sovereignty to the Iraqi people as soon as possible.

Lastly, my delegation has no doubt that the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq ultimately represent a test for and the responsibility of the entire international community.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): This meeting had been scheduled to hear the briefing by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1483 (2003). We thank them for the report they have presented, which will be studied carefully by our authorities.

Sadly, this meeting has coincided with one of the most serious tragedies to affect the United Nations in its history. In Baghdad the United Nations was an innocent victim, a victim that was present in that country to help the people of Iraq under a specific mandate that was provided by the Security Council. Pakistan has expressed its deep sorrow over these tragic killings and injuries in Baghdad and has conveyed its sympathy to the bereaved families and the United Nations. The loss of Sergio Vieira de Mello and other friends and colleagues in Baghdad is indeed a deep blow to those of us who work at the United Nations. Pakistan has welcomed the statement of the Secretary-General that the United Nations will stay on in Iraq and will fulfil the mandate that has been entrusted to it.

We are deeply impressed at the examples of heroism of international civil servants in the aftermath of this attack. We must remember the decision of many who have decided to stay on in Iraq despite this attack and the danger they face. Those who have died and those who have been injured must be honoured because they reflect the greatest spirit of selflessness and sacrifice which epitomizes the spirit of the United Nations.

It is obvious that security for the United Nations, its personnel and its programmes must be improved. This is a requirement under resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003), which devolves at the moment on the Coalition Provisional Authority. Without security, the objectives with which the United Nations has been entrusted to fulfil, as well as the other objectives of promoting peace and stability in Iraq, cannot be realized. We must, therefore, examine this tragedy and see what steps are required and can be taken to provide more effective security to the United Nations and its operations. There are various options, and we must explore them. Their acceptance will, in our view, depend first and foremost on their acceptance by the people of Iraq. It is their concurrence that we must also seek.

Obviously, terrorism has come to Iraq and terrorism must be condemned in all its manifestations and must be combated in Iraq as in other parts of the world. But we believe that to combat terrorism in Iraq or elsewhere, it will be essential to win the hearts and the minds of the Iraqi people. Winning the hearts and the minds of the Iraqi people will require several parallel steps by the international community.

First, we hope that the Coalition Provisional Authority will continue the process, with the growing support of the United Nations, to provide humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people, revive the Iraqi economy and improve the social conditions in that war-devastated country. We hope that Iraqi institutions will be rebuilt in response to the needs and wishes of the Iraqi people.

Secondly, we are convinced that the United Nations will have to assume a larger and wider role in Iraq, in order, inter alia, to enhance legitimacy and the acceptability of the endeavours of the international community to bring stability and progress to Iraq. Paragraphs 98 to 99 of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715) outlines the tasks that need to be undertaken.

Thirdly, we need a clear, inclusive and indigenous political process in Iraq, with a clear sequence leading to a fully representative Iraqi Government that should assume increasing responsibility for all aspects of governance in Iraq.

Finally, let me reiterate a point that Pakistan has made consistently in the Council. All international endeavours in Iraq should be pursued within the framework of the applicable international principles: respect for the unity, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq; respect for the right of the Iraqi people to choose their own political destiny and form of government; respect for the right to control their own resources; and respect for the religious and cultural traditions of the Iraqi nation.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The appraisals of what happened in Baghdad on 19 August were given by my President and my Minister for Foreign Affairs in their messages to the

Secretary-General and in their public statements. In those statements, the death of Sergio Vieira de Mello and his colleagues was viewed as an irreparable loss to the United Nations and the international community as a whole. The statements stressed that what happened in Baghdad shows us once again that where terrorists go, terrorism will follow, that there is no justification for harbouring terrorists and that they must be fought.

We express indignation at the United Nations having become a target of terrorists. All its efforts in Iraq were directed towards helping the Iraqi people to overcome the consequences of the military conflict and to re-establish a peaceful life. The Russian leadership is convinced that, in spite of this barbarous terrorist act, the international community must continue to participate in finding a solution in Iraq. A necessary condition for that is to ensure the broad, collective involvement of the international community in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Today's briefings by Ambassador Negroponte and Ambassador Jones Parry, and the statements by other members of the Security Council, clearly show that we all desire a stronger and more active United Nations role in Iraq. It is also clear that to that end, we need to be able to guarantee the security of the staff of the United Nations and of other international organizations in Iraq. At the moment, responsibility for protection lies with the members of the coalition. We are prepared to support in the Security Council any further measures to strengthen security for United Nations staff in Iraq. It is also clear that this task is intricately linked to overall security in Iraq. It is clear from the briefings and the ensuing discussion that security is the area in which the greatest problems exist. We are convinced that the security problems can be solved only in conjunction with consideration of other key aspects of the situation in Iraq, such as the political process and a clear timetable for restoring Iraq's sovereignty, the strengthening of humanitarian assistance, cooperation in solving social problems and assistance towards economic recovery. Naturally, all those measures must be accompanied by efforts to establish reliable structures in Iraq for the maintenance of law and order.

I noted that in his statement, Ambassador Jones Parry he invited the Security Council in coming days to study within a multilateral framework the ways and means to enhance United Nations action in Iraq, including by speeding up the political process, addressing social, economic and humanitarian issues and enhancing security. We are prepared to take part in such a discussion. We believe that Security Council resolution 1500 (2003), together with the ideas that we have heard today, is an excellent starting point for such a discussion. We hope that during the course of the proposed discussion, we will be able to study those ideas and hear responses to the questions raised today, in particular those raised by France. We also believe that for such a discussion to be as fruitful as possible, it would be useful to hear the recommendations of the Secretary-General. Again, we are prepared to take part in such a discussion, which would be timely and which, we believe, should take place as soon as possible.

Mr. Tidjani (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): First, I must publicly reiterate to the Secretary-General and to the entire United Nations family the condolences of the Government and the people of Cameroon following the sudden and tragic death on 19 August of several United Nations staff members, including the sadly missed Sergio Vieira de Mello, who, with professionalism and determination, performed the delicate tasks of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq. His is a great loss for the international system. With him, we lost one of our finest gems, a genuine apostle of peace, a wizard of post-conflict management.

I also wish to convey Cameroon's full sympathy to Brazil and the other countries struck by that unspeakable tragedy, and to all the afflicted families. The entire world, in solidarity, can only condemn in the strongest terms that barbaric, heinous and cowardly act perpetrated against United Nations staff engaged with faith and passion alongside Iraqis. Those martyrs for peace died helping the Iraqis recover their dignity, independence and happiness in a climate of peace and equitably shared economic and social progress — of which Iraq had been bereft for more than 30 years, suffocated by a brutal and bloody dictatorship.

We have carefully listened to the two briefings by coalition members, and we sincerely thank them. At the present stage, we can only note with interest the detailed and precise information they have given the Council and their assessment of the situation.

At our truly historic public meeting of 22 July 2003, my delegation clearly expressed its support for the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in his report (S/2003/715) of 17 July 2003, particularly for those recommendations concerning the

creation of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), subsequently established by Security Council resolution 1500 (2003). At the time of supporting the creation of UNAMI, Cameroon suggested that the Council reflect without delay on the best way for the United Nations to contribute decisively to solving the thorny question of the lack of security that is currently affecting all else in Iraq. We believe that it is time to hasten that reflection and to take the appropriate decisions on the challenges to be met.

In the view of my delegation, for a month now it has seemed necessary to add a military component to the United Nations mission in Iraq. That could possibly take the form of a multinational force with a clear and robust mandate, whose scope of action should be clearly defined. Even if comparisons do not provide all the answers, the Council could find inspiration in other models in which a United Nations force has worked alongside a parallel international force in the same country. We are, of course, facing a case with different characteristics, but, in Iraq, as elsewhere, promoting peace, security and the social and economic progress of a suffering people demands action from the Security Council. Whether it is the people of Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo or Iraq, necessity dictates what must be done.

The Secretary-General has reaffirmed his determination to continue the unfinished yet promising work of Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team. It is up to us to create optimal security conditions to ensure the success of that work. We owe this to them.

The other activity to pursue in carrying on with the efforts that Mr. Viera de Mello has made is to call on the countries of the region for cooperation to support the reconstruction efforts in Iraq, as well as the political process, which must very soon lead to free and democratic elections.

Finally, I would like to appeal to the coalition to be more open to the United Nations and its Members. This means that it must be more transparent, clarify its activities and purposes in Iraq and, in particular, promote the quick restoration to Iraqis of the administrative, political and economic management of their country.

We are all involved in the renewal and reconstruction of Iraq, whether we like it or not. This is a challenge that we must meet together to honour the memory of Mr. Viera de Mello and other United Nations staff members who were victims of the heinous 19 August attack.

Mr. Sow (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): My delegation would like first of all to congratulate Ambassadors Negroponte of the United States and Emyr Jones Parry of the United Kingdom for the comprehensive briefings and in-depth analyses that they have just given us on the recent developments of the situation in Iraq.

It is always with untold horror and sadness that we address that question, and this is especially true in the wake of the heinous attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, which caused wanton destruction and loss of human lives. The activities of the Organization symbolized the determination of the international community to participate courageously in the reconstruction of Iraq.

I would like in that respect to express once again the sincerest condolences of the people and Government of Guinea to the bereaved families and the United Nations family as a whole for these irreparable losses, which have affected dedicated and talented staff members who have devoted their recognized experience and expertise to the service of the Iraqi people.

We are especially shocked that the United Nations has lost one of the leading lights in its diplomatic, human rights and peacekeeping work through this unspeakable attack: the greatly lamented Sergio Vieira de Mello. The statement that he made to us in this context highlights the magnitude of the challenges that the Council must meet to accomplish its vital mandate of promoting international peace and security.

My delegation believes that the Council has the imperative duty to reflect on the most appropriate ways and means to stem the manichean designs of the terrorists. We think it is no accident that the attack against the United Nations occurred only four days after the adoption of the Security Council resolution that officially established the United Nations mission in Iraq, and following a strengthening of its presence there. Nor is it coincidental that that attack was planned and carried out to make it the deadliest assault on the United Nations since its establishment in 1945. We are convinced that the terrorists have a fundamental objective: to jeopardize the achievements made in Iraq

by preventing the economic, political and institutional reforms under way as a result of the moment established by the coalition and with the assistance of the international community.

The two briefings clearly showed that the situation in Iraq was improving in a relatively satisfactory way from the humanitarian, institutional and political standpoint. My delegation commends the laudable efforts made by the members of the coalition, which have made it possible to put an end to years of repression, discrimination, suffering and deprivation of individual and collective freedoms. We welcome the achievements already made in the economic, infrastructural, political and cultural spheres. We are pleased to see that despite the violence, Iraqis are increasingly responsible for their fate and that an interim Governing Council that reflects national diversity has been established. The Government of Guinea fully supports the work of that Council.

The attack of last Tuesday strengthens my delegation's conviction that the Security Council must support the process of reconstructing a new Iraq, particularly by promoting the establishment of new and democratic institutions.

We believe that the heinous and unacceptable act that has just struck the United Nations should not discourage the international community. We must be increasingly aware of the need to give an enlarged and consolidated mandate to the United Nations so that it can meet the present challenge.

We must stay the course and reconsider the structure of our mission in Iraq, particularly the security measures that can be taken immediately. It would be useful for the Secretary-General to evaluate as soon as possible the situation on the ground to create more reliable security and safety conditions to carry out the work of our Organization. The security task is indeed our highest priority. It must receive our fullest attention if we are to succeed. Everything must be done to arrest and bring to justice the perpetrators of the attack. The humanitarian efforts of the international community must be pursued and strengthened. We must make unfailing efforts to help the suffering Iraqi people to take their destiny in their own hands.

In conclusion, my country would like to encourage the activities of the coalition, the international community and all those who are working on the ground to build a peaceful, safe, democratic and reconciled Iraq.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is not easy to find words to describe the terrorist attack, which has claimed the lives of Mr. Vieira de Mello and dozens of others, including a Spanish naval officer. The unthinkable has happened. The United Nations has indeed been attacked in an outrageous, heinous act. Our delegation sends its condolences to the families of the victims of this criminal attack.

I am grateful to the ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for their briefings, which were made in this grim atmosphere, on some advances that have been made in certain areas. This also shows us the magnitude of the tasks that lie ahead, which can be summarized in three areas: security, the political process and the economy.

The first, and very important, task pertains to security. The terrorists who carried out Tuesday's attack and the handful of people who harbour nostalgia for the regime of Saddam Hussain are primarily seeking to create an atmosphere of chaos that will splinter the international community. They must not succeed in their objective. Unfortunately, however, there will be setbacks. Nevertheless, the international community must stand firm with regard to its presence in Iraq and its determination to bring peace to that country. With regard to the security of United Nations personnel in particular, it will be necessary to find a mechanism to effectively protect both the Organization's staff and humanitarian workers, while at the same time respecting their independence.

No less important to the political process is the need for the Iraqi people to continue and heighten their involvement in shaping their own political future. It is for that reason that we support the establishment of the Iraqi Governing Council as an important first step towards a democratically elected Government and the full exercise by the Iraqi people of their sovereignty as soon as possible.

The third aspect to which I have referred is the task of economic reconstruction. To meet that challenge, it is essential that the international community respond generously by participating in the donors' conference, to be held at Madrid in October, with the renewed intention of redoubling its financial efforts to overcome the current situation.

My country is in Iraq with a single objective, namely, to return peace, stability and freedom to that country. We seek a prosperous Iraq in which its own peoples are able to determine their future free from obstacles and despotism. To that end we have sent an outstanding brigade to Iraq that includes 1,300 troops from Spain and other troops from the brotherly countries of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic.

I do not believe that this is the time for recrimination or inquiries about how some of us behaved in the past two to four months. Efforts to analyse the motivation behind the actions of some members of the international community are pointless, counterproductive at the moment and unlikely to contribute in any way to achieving what I believe all of us want, namely, peace and freedom for all Iraqis.

In conclusion, the tragic events of last Tuesday should only serve to reaffirm our determination that the United Nations continue to play the ongoing and expanding role we want it to play and that the international community continue to work to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Iraqi people. The memory of all who have given their lives for that cause, as well as the credibility of the United Nations itself, demand it.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation would like to thank the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for their briefings on the activities carried out by their countries in Iraq in their capacity as the coalition established as the authority in Iraq and in accordance with the obligations imposed upon them by international humanitarian law as occupying Powers as well as by virtue of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003). We are grateful for those briefings because they provide us with information that is essential for the Security Council to be able to assess conditions in Iraq and properly channel the efforts of the United Nations in that country.

Mexico perceived the news of the attack on United Nations headquarters in Iraq last Tuesday as an act of aggression against our own country and an attack on all members of the United Nations. Mexico's President and its Minister for Foreign Affairs have already conveyed our condolences on behalf of all Mexicans to the Secretary-General, the entire staff of the United Nations and the leaders of the countries whose nationals were victims of that devious and abominable act of terrorism. As both a cause and a method, terrorism is nothing but an irrational expression of hatred and a dehumanizing act. We must not become fearful because of terrorism or yield in our efforts to combat it. Mexico believes that the Security Council and its members must take very seriously the issue of protecting the humanitarian staff of the United Nations, the international community and non-governmental organizations, especially in conflict situations. A deliberate attack against humanitarian staff such as the one that took place in Iraq constitutes a war crime and a crime against humanity that must be prosecuted as such. The international community must unite its efforts to ensure that those responsible answer for their actions accordingly. The Security Council must also send a very clear message and take concrete and effective steps to increase protection and strengthen the instruments protecting humanitarian staff. My country will remain vigilant in that regard and will redouble its efforts to have the Council take effective steps towards that end.

Mexico mourns the death of Sergio Vieira de Mello. Just two months after having arrived in Iraq, his energy, conviction, talent, sensitivity and skill as an international civil servant made an indelible mark on Iraq. His example and perseverance will continue to be part of the spirit of the Organization and of every United Nations staff member remaining in Iraq. In fulfilling the Council's mandate, Mr. Vieira de Mello began to work immediately in support of the efforts of the people of Iraq to regain their sovereignty and end the military occupation. He did so by setting up genuinely representative bodies that could lead to the emergence of a Government capable of effectively exercising Iraq's sovereignty. Mr. Vieira de Mello assumed the role of interlocutor with spirited determination. Instead of locking himself up in his office, Mr. Vieira de Mello travelled throughout the country to speak to every sector of society, thereby getting a very clear idea of what the Iraqi people wanted. Shortly before his death, he told a Brazilian newspaper that the coalition forces needed to give the Iraqi people greater confidence and send the signal that the occupation is temporary by announcing a timetable for their withdrawal. Mr. Vieira de Mello added that this would reduce tension among the population and probably also put an end to attacks on foreign soldiers.

Having heard the briefings provided to the Security Council this morning by the United States and the United Kingdom, we express our hope that the appeals made by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the Secretary-General will be heeded, and that very soon a timetable will be set for the withdrawal of military occupation, as well as a timetable for the establishment of a legitimate, representative political authority that will reclaim the right of the Iraqi people to decide on their own future. Without a clear horizon in this regard, the reconstruction of Iraq will be increasingly difficult.

The United Nations has been attacked by terrorism in Iraq; we all have been attacked. But those who will feel the effects of this act of aggression the most — its most direct victims — are the Iraqis themselves, the people of that country. The United Nations is not a party to the conflict. The United Nations is in Iraq side by side with the Iraqi people, and this is certainly the framework in which a solution must be found. Only the United Nations has, in its Charter, the legal mandate, the moral and political authority and the international legitimacy to confront the most serious challenges to international peace and security. That is why the United Nations must not only continue to fulfil its tasks in Iraq; its efforts must have greater depth, and its support for the Iraqi people must be yet more vigorous.

The United Nations must also support, organize and channel international efforts in support of Iraq. In current circumstances, and in accordance with resolution 1483 (2003) and with international law, the authority emanating from the occupying Powers is responsible for security in the territory of Iraq. Independently, the United Nations, through the Mission established by the Council, is conducting humanitarian action in support of the economic, social and political reconstruction of the country.

The harsh blow dealt the United Nations by that terrorist attack obliges us to reaffirm the presence of the United Nations in Iraq and to broaden it, and perhaps also to reformulate the terms of our presence there. Towards that end, the United Nations must continue actively to deal with the situation in Iraq.

My country will be examining the reports submitted to us by Ambassadors Jones Parry and Negroponte, in accordance with resolution 1483 (2003). In that context, we will participate in the Council's deliberations on the future of the United Nations in Iraq. My country considers that the situation in Iraq is critical, with the potential for extremely grave consequences for its neighbours and for international peace and security.

We share the view expressed around this table that Iraq needs the support, the presence and the renewed efforts of the international community in order to restore peace and security as well as the rule of law and to recover its sovereignty. It is the responsibility of the Council to decide on the best way of organizing these efforts and to guide and direct them. The humanitarian presence in Iraq depends on this, as does the channeling of effective resources for reconstruction.

Mexico believes that the Organization must provide guidance for all of the efforts and endeavours of the international community in Iraq. That is our conviction.

Mr. Lucas (Angola): My delegation would like at the outset to thank the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States for their briefings on the situation in Iraq, as provided for in resolution 1483 (2003). The assessment presented to the Council on the work done in Iraq is impressive, particularly if we take into account the immensity of the tasks that remain to be accomplished.

This open briefing to the Security Council by the representatives of the coalition is taking place at a time of profound sadness and mourning for the entire United Nations family and for the international community. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims and to the United Nations. The death of Sergio Vieira de Mello was a huge loss, not only for his relatives and for the United Nations, but also for the countless people to whom he gave the best of his abilities in order to better their lot.

The United Nations is living through the most tragic hours of its existence, and the aftermath of a tragedy is always the occasion for reflection and reassessment and for the adoption of new courses of action. Many questions arise after the events of 19 August, of which I will mention a few.

Why the attack against the United Nations, whose presence in Iraq is strictly peaceful? What went wrong with United Nations security in Baghdad? Which measures are needed in order to prevent similar events? Who were the perpetrators of that vicious attack? What

can be done to defuse the Iraqi resistance and recourse to terrorist acts? Did international terrorists infiltrate Iraq, and are they conducting operations in the country? What measures are needed to conquer the hearts and minds of the Iraqis? What course of action should the United Nations and the coalition exercising power in Iraq adopt following the tragic events that took place in Baghdad?

Those are some of the questions which the Security Council and the coalition Powers must answer in the coming days and weeks in order to move forward, with renewed confidence, the process of the pacification and national reconstruction of Iraq, bearing in mind one basic assumption: the coalition Powers have no option left but to carry on with their task, no matter the price they will be obliged to pay and the difficulties they will encounter on that hard, rocky and treacherous road.

It is imperative that, on the day the coalition Powers decide to leave the country, Iraq have an internationally recognized Government, State institutions and a process of economic recovery in place and, above all, that it be a country at peace.

The United Nations is also left with very narrow options. The Security Council, by reaffirming its determination to assist the Iraqi people to build peace and justice in their country and to determine their own political future, and by declaring that the United Nations will continue with its operations in Iraq and not be intimidated by such attacks, took a clear stand by pledging its commitment to continuing to provide assistance to the Iraqi people.

In our view, it is absolutely necessary, at this juncture, that the Authority, the United Nations and the Governing Council of Iraq close ranks at this critical hour, step up the fight against terrorism and devise the proper strategies — political, economic, security-related and psychological — to counter it.

The Security Council has already begun, and will continue in the coming days and weeks, a thorough debate relating to the questions that the terrorist attack against the United Nations in Baghdad brought back to the agenda. It is our expectation that the Council will find the most appropriate ways to ensure security for the United Nations mission in Iraq and for its personnel, measures to strengthen the relationship between the United Nations and the Iraqi people, and how best to assist the Iraqi people in rebuilding its country, in reinstating its national sovereignty and in overcoming the very difficult moments it is currently going through.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Grief has engulfed the United Nations and the Security Council in the wake of the horrendous attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, killing many innocent people, including the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello.

The Government of Syria immediately denounced this despicable act, stressing the importance of a continued and enhanced role for the United Nations in Iraq. Furthermore, President Bashar Al-Assad conveyed his condolences to the President of Brazil, in which he denounced and deplored this heinous criminal act. Mr. Farouk Al-Shara', Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Syria, addressed a message to the Secretary-General expressing his shock over this criminal act of aggression against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad and extending his heartfelt condolences over the loss of Mr. Vieira de Mello.

The Syrian leadership has first-hand experience of his dedication to the pivotal role which the United Nations should play in assisting Iraq to recover its independence and freedom. Syria supports the beliefs and vision which the late Mr. Vieira de Mello so faithfully upheld and which stressed the importance of ending the occupation of Iraq and of that country's recovery of its freedom, sovereignty, political independence and control over its natural resources. He called on the Secretary-General to implement this vision and to make it a reality, which, in his view, represented the way out of Iraq's current dilemma.

The suffering of the Iraqi people is a source of concern to all peoples throughout the world. The Syrian Arab Republic, through various institutions, has made every possible effort to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqis by extending medical, food and other material assistance, supplementing similar efforts undertaken by Arab and other States and by the United Nations and its various programmes providing assistance sorely needed by the Iraqi people.

The Arab ministers for foreign affairs, members of the Follow-up and Action Committee of the Council of the League of Arab States, held an important meeting in Cairo on 5 August at which they discussed the situation in the Arab sphere in all its aspects. The Arab ministers reaffirmed the need for Iraq to recover its sovereignty over its land and resources, for an end to the occupation and for the rapid establishment of a national Government in accordance with a clearly defined schedule. The Arab ministers stressed the need of a pivotal role for the United Nations in the political process in Iraq and for the Organization to cooperate with the League of Arab States and with other regional and national actors to that end, under the aegis of the Security Council.

At the meeting, the ministers also agreed to establish a committee — to include Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Jordan, Qatar, Tunisia and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States — to follow up developments in Iraq and to establish the necessary international contacts in this regard.

In conclusion, we wish to affirm that Iraq, throughout its time-honoured history, has overcome many challenges and emerged victorious. Iraqis have contributed to building an Arab civilization in which we all take pride. We are confident that Iraq will overcome its current hardship and ultimately succeed, despite the destruction and grief, thanks to the unity of its people and the support of its Arab brethren, the international community and the United Nations.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4813

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4813th meeting

Tuesday, 26 August 2003, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mekdad	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 14 August 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/821)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-47622 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 14 August 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/821)

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/821, which contains the text of a letter dated 14 August 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/832, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1501 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4814

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4814th meeting

Tuesday, 26 August 2003, 6 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mekdad	(Syrian Arab Republic)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

Protection of United Nations personnel, associated personnel and humanitarian personnel in conflict zones

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-47628 (E)

The meeting was called to order to order at 6 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Protection of United Nations personnel, associated personnel and humanitarian personnel in conflict zones

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/581, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting, and I give him the floor.

The Secretary-General: I wish to express my strong support for the draft resolution before the Council. I can think of no issue about which I feel more strongly as Secretary-General — and I believe none should be more important to each member of the Security Council — than the safety of those brave men and women who serve the Organization in the places where it matters most, that is, in zones of conflict and danger.

It is of course a fact of life that much of our work is done in dangerous places, since that is where it is most sorely needed. But that only strengthens the obligation on all of us to take every step in our power to protect those working under the blue flag and to bring to justice those who attack or harm them. Regrettably, in recent years we have not lived up to that obligation. Attacks on humanitarian workers and on United Nations personnel have increased alarmingly. Again and again, peacekeepers or unarmed civilians who have voluntarily gone in to help their fellow men and women have been deliberately targeted by armed factions seeking to make a political point or a military gain or to intimidate the international community.

Last week's vicious attack on our headquarters in Baghdad, with all its tragic consequences, has brought that vital issue to the forefront of our priorities. It shows us what we must expect if we allow the impression to continue gaining ground that international workers are a soft, cost-free target. Impunity for those who commit such unpardonable crimes cannot stand. There must be action.

Once again, I urge Member States in whose territories attacks against United Nations personnel have been committed to take practical and effective steps to investigate and prosecute those responsible for such crimes. I also urge those States that have not yet done so to sign, ratify and accede to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.

And, members of the Council, I urge you today to adopt the timely draft resolution before you. I hope very much that you will pass it unanimously and that you will follow it up with action. In so doing, you will send an unambiguous message to all those who mistakenly believe that, in today's turbulent world, they can advance their cause by targeting the servants of humanity. And if you succeed in strengthening the security of United Nations staff, you will not only do what, in all conscience, is your duty; you will also increase the authority and effectiveness of the Council by making clear that you are determined to protect those whom you send into the field to implement your decisions.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank the Secretary-General for his important statement.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2003/581) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1502 (2003).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): We are pleased that the Security Council has adopted by consensus this important resolution regarding the protection of humanitarian personnel in conflict zones. The importance of the work done by humanitarian workers and the need to protect them has never been more evident.

I wish to commend Ambassador Aguilar Zinser and our other Mexican colleagues for their tireless efforts to reach consensus. The efforts of the other sponsors are also appreciated.

We live in a world where failed States, conflict, poverty, hunger and privation are all too common. Humanitarian personnel, United Nations personnel and associated personnel play a vital and indispensable role in easing suffering during times of conflict and hardship and in helping countries that are emerging from conflict to return to health. In Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi or Iraq, humanitarian workers willingly and courageously serve wherever need exists. As the Security Council, we count on them to carry out this body's mandates. They cannot carry out those mandates if they cannot operate in safety and it is right that we call for their protection in this resolution.

This resolution moves beyond previous measures in focusing the Security Council's attention on both the prevention of attacks on humanitarian, United Nations and associated personnel and on the accountability of those who commit such acts. I would like to make a few observations about the consensus text.

We note that the fourth preambular paragraph reaffirms the general rule that humanitarian and United Nations personnel should observe and respect the laws of the country in which they are operating. This paragraph makes clear that this general rule must be applied in accordance with international law, which may provide for special rules that govern the relationship between such personnel and the laws of the host State.

We also note that operative paragraph 3 creates no new international legal obligations, but rather reaffirms the existing obligation of all parties involved in an armed conflict to comply fully with the rules and principles of international law applicable to them during armed conflict.

Finally, we would note that operative paragraph 4 does not in itself create any new international legal obligations, but rather urges concerned parties to implement their existing international legal obligations relating to access, the provision of facilities and the promotion of safety, security and freedom of movement. In this connection, we recall that both the Hague Regulations and the Geneva Conventions recognize that, during a period of armed conflict, the extent to which a concerned party is able to allow such access, make available such facilities or promote the security of such personnel may be limited to those steps that are practicable and consistent with the security and operating environment.

We are all deeply saddened by the tragic events that took place last week in Baghdad. Twenty-three dedicated individuals who were engaged in helping the people of Iraq lost their lives. This was an attack on the entire civilized world and an immeasurable loss to the international community. This resolution recognizes and values the dedication and even heroism of those humanitarian workers serving worldwide who, day after day, knowingly risk their lives to reduce human suffering and further the cause of peace. We welcome its adoption.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I take the floor on behalf of the six countries that, during the final phase of the negotiating process that led to the unanimous adoption of this resolution, moved the text forward and urged its consensus adoption.

Bulgaria, Germany, France, the Russian Federation, the Syrian Arab Republic and Mexico participated in this effort, first, in the conviction that the Security Council had clearly and unequivocally to demonstrate its responsibility for the protection of humanitarian workers. Secondly, its sponsors, in the conviction that the resolution had to be adopted unanimously, made it their task to send an unequivocal message, as the Secretary-General pointed out, to those who believe in impunity for acts against humanitarian workers in conflict situations. The message to the international community had to be equally clear and unequivocal to the effect that the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole are committed to undertaking concrete actions leading to the creation of

a better framework of protection for humanitarian workers in conflict situations.

We regret the fact that the resolution does not explicitly mention the International Criminal Court and the Rome Statute. However, given its purpose and the vital importance of its unanimous adoption, the sponsors felt justified in reaching the difficult decisions made during the negotiating process, culminating in the adoption of this instrument.

I wish finally to indicate that, thanks to the dedication of humanitarian workers of the United Nations and of civil society organizations around the world, thousands upon thousands of people are protected in extreme conflict situations. We owe it to them to support and to create better security conditions. In particular, since the events of 19 August in Baghdad, the Council owes it to them to shoulder the clear and resolute responsibility to demonstrate its appreciation of their work and its solidarity with them.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.